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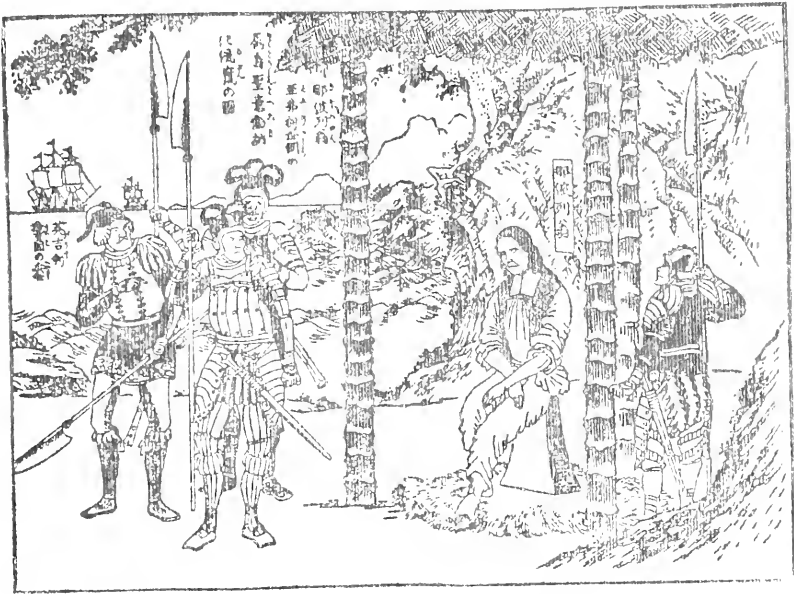
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The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and the
Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER



NAPOLEON ON ST. HELENA.
A Japanese woodcut. (See page 742.)

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Mon père s'est servi de ce corps
De la main par son ouvrage
des ce à venir



portrait de Mr Pascal fait par mon père

BLAISE PASCAL.

From a contemporary drawing by Domat (See page 766).

Frontispiece to the *Open Court*.

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VOL. XXVI. (No. 12.) DECEMBER, 1912.

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AN ANCIENT EGYPTIAN MECHANICAL PROBLEM.

PAPYRUS ANASTASI I.

About 1300 B. C.

BY F. M. BARBER.

SO far as I am aware this is the only ancient Egyptian Papyrus that has ever been found which makes even a remote reference to the apparatus used or methods employed in the installation of their gigantic monuments, and even here the account is so fragmentary as to seem at first sight merely to excite curiosity rather than to offer a satisfactory solution.

The papyrus was first partly translated by M. Chabas about 1870 and his interpretation of the portion referring to mechanical processes, when put into English from the French of his book is as follows (pages 48 to 51):

“Par. 11 of the papyrus, page 13, line 4, to page 14, line 8.

“I announce to thee the order of thy Royal Lord: how thou his Royal Scribe shalt go with the grand monuments of the Horus, Lord of the two worlds; because thou art a skilful scribe who art at the head of a troop. There was made a passage of 230 cubits [402.5 feet, assuming that the royal cubit of 21 inches was used] by 55 cubits [96.2 feet] in 120 *rokata* full of timbers and fascines; 60 cubits [105 feet] high at its summit; its interior of 30 cubits [52.5 feet] by two times 15; its lodge (seat, balcony) is 5 cubits [8.7 feet]. The Military Intendant prepared the base. The scribes were installed everywhere. . . .

“Answer me about your affair of the base: see that what you

need is before you as well as thy of 30 cubits [52.5 feet] by 7 cubits [12.2 feet]

"Let there be made a new obelisk, sculptured [or cut] in the name of the Lord Royal, of 110 cubits [192.5 feet] in height, including the base of 10 cubits [17.5 feet]. The periphery of its foot will be 7 cubits [12.2 feet] on each side; that it may go (*qu'il aille*) by two times of the side of the head of 2 cubits [3.5 feet]

"Thou hast placed me as chief of those who haul it

"Par. 13 of the papyrus, page 16, line 5, to page 17, line 2.

"Thou sayest I need the great box which is filled with sand with the colossus of the Lord Royal thy master which was brought from the red mountain. It is of 30 cubits [52.5 feet] extended on the ground, by 20 cubits [35 feet], divided into 10 compartments full of sand of the sand pits: the width or inside measure (*travers*) of the compartments forms 44 cubits [77 feet]. They are 50 cubits [87.5 feet] high in all. Thou wast ordered by him who was present, the king, to see that each man worked during six hours. That suited them, but they lost courage to exert themselves; the time had not arrived. Thou didst give food to the troops; they took their repast and the colossus was installed in its place. The heart of the king regarded it with satisfaction."

M. Chabas in his reflections on the subject concludes that both the "passage" and the "box" were inclined planes; but he frankly says that he cannot explain the combination of figures and makes no attempt to demonstrate them. He simply discusses the abnormal dimensions of the obelisk, the extraordinary flatness of the pyramidon and the circumference of it, and he concludes that the obelisk measures 4 cubits on each side of the head, since "a right line drawn along the center of one side from the middle of the base would arrive at 2 cubits from each angle of the summit. It appears to me that this is a forced construction of the expression *qu'il aille* and that the wording really means that the head measures 2 cubits less than the base or 5 cubits. This is the proportional taper of the Karnak obelisk and nearly that of most others. The height of 100 cubits [175 feet] M. Chabas thinks not unreasonable and quotes an inscription at the temple of El-Assassifat Thebes which mentions "two obelisks of 108 cubits [189 feet] high entirely covered with gold."

In 1871 M. de Saulcy in a letter to M. Prisse d'Aresnes published by the *Revue archéologique* in 1873 endeavors to demonstrate by mathematical calculations and drawings that the "passage" was an inclined plane as M. Chabas thought. The unknown word *rokata*

he assumes to mean a caisson measuring $30 \times 20 \times 5$ cubits filled with timbers, fascines, etc., and the entire inclined plane to be composed of 120 of these caissons. The plane has a roadway 30 cubits wide up the middle of it with a "rebord" or log or rail 5 cubits high and 15 cubits wide on each side of the road.

With regard to the "grand coffre," however, he thinks that it was really a huge box, habitually used in such work, as high as the highest point of the road-way up the inclined plane and composed of 10 compartments or caissons each $30 \times 20 \times 5$ cubits and the *travers* of 44 cubits he construes to mean the inside measure round the compartment, and the outside measure being $30 + 20 = 50$ gives 6 cubits for the 4 sides or $1\frac{1}{2}$ cubits = 32 inches for the thickness of each side of the box. These caissons were placed one on top of the other, the lower one surrounding the pedestal and the whole filled with sand.

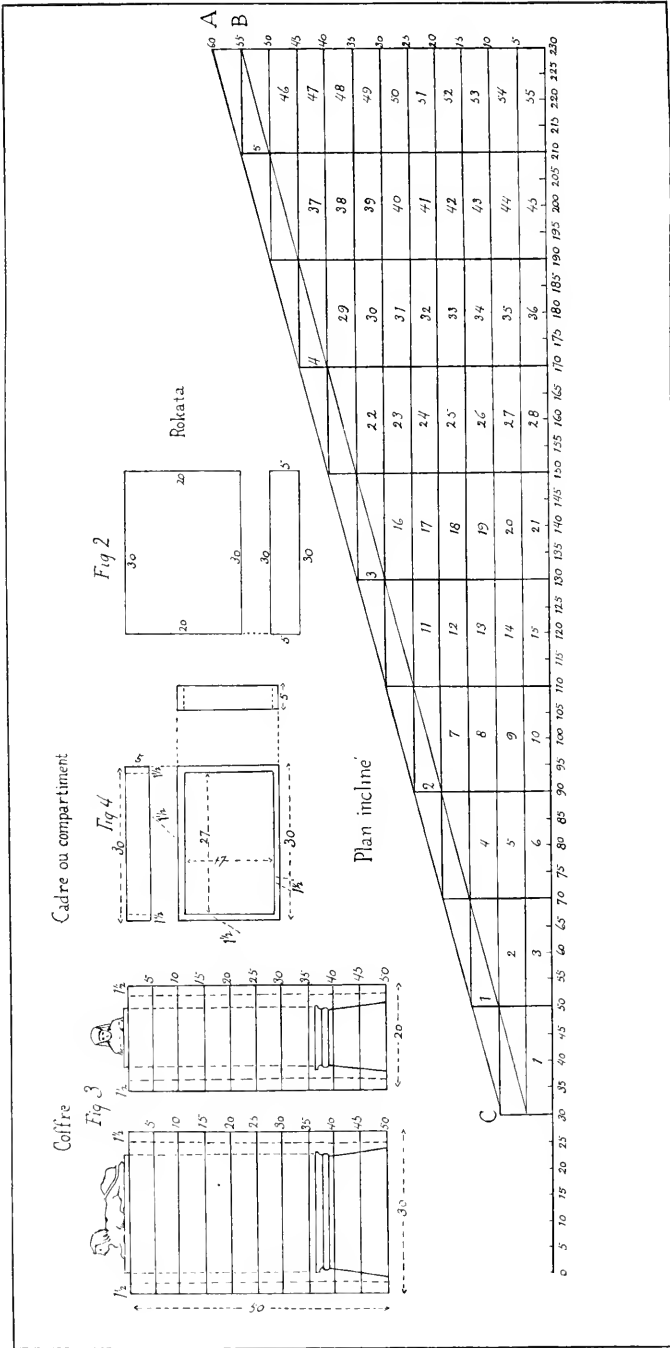
He supposed that the huge stone monument was dragged up the incline by means of capstans until it reached the middle of the surface of the upper caisson of the sand-box, the sand was then thrown out of the upper caisson by native baskets, allowing the monument to settle to the next caisson when the sides of the upper caisson were removed, and so on in succession until the monument rested on the pedestal as shown in the figure.

In the case of an obelisk he thinks it was to be hauled up the incline until the heel rested over the upper caisson, and then the sand was allowed to run out at the level of the pedestal until the obelisk tilted about the center of gravity and sank in a *vertical* position to the pedestal; but he does not attempt to demonstrate it, which would be extremely difficult.

The illustration from the *Revue archéologique* of 1873 shows M. de Saulcy's ideas regarding the placing of a sphynx. There are several objections to be made to it, the most obvious being that it would be unnecessary labor to drag a colossus up to a height of nearly 100 feet merely to lower it again by means of a box of sand to a pedestal whose height is less than 20 feet. This objection is so important that it is useless to discuss the others.

M. de Saulcy however is extremely modest in claiming any great degree of merit for his demonstration and says that it is merely an attempt to elucidate in a plausible manner one of the most curious documents that have come down to us and which had so much puzzled the original translator.

In 1902, having through the kindness of M. Capart of the Museum of Brussels become aware of the existence of the work of



M. DE SAULCY'S INTERPRETATION.
 Reproduced from the *Revue archéologique*, 1873, Plate IX.

M. Chabas and M. de Sauley, I studied them and concluded that a mistake had been made by M. de Sauley in considering that the colossus and the obelisk were separate monuments; that in reality all the mechanical matter in the papyrus referred to the obelisk alone; but if this was true, the height of the box must be approximately equal to the combined height of the center of gravity of the obelisk and the height of the pedestal. This I found to be the case. The height of the center of gravity is 41 cubits, the height of the pedestal is 10 cubits and that of the box is 50 cubits.

In order however to learn if a more recent translation of the papyrus would throw additional light on the subject, I wrote to Professor Erman, director of the Egyptian Museum of Berlin, who in 1903 kindly sent me the following which is here translated from the German.

"The passages are no more intelligible to me than they were to M. Chabas and Professor Brugsch, or even less so. The technical terms employed therein are wanting, and besides Papyrus Anastasi I is very badly written and full of mistakes. In the first place the question is that the addressed person (the whole book is meant ironically) should have large monuments transported by his soldiers. A slope is made of 730 cubits, 55 cubits in width of 120 *Rgt* full of reeds and beams of a height of 50 cubits at the head, the middle of 30 cubits, the . . . of 15 cubits, the seat of 5 cubits. They deliberate with the military officers about the want of bricks, while all the scribes are assembled without one among them understanding anything about it. They love you and say, 'You are a skilful scribe, my friend! answer me about the want of bricks. See the terraces are before you, each one with its *Rgt* of 30 cubits with the width of 7 cubits.'

"*S't*? can also mean 'passage' as in the rock tomb; but the signification of 'ramp' is sure. . . .

"*Rgt* is a chananean foreign word of unknown signification. . . .

"Terrace is quite uncertain according as the word is differently determined. Here I should propose a word like dimension.

"The meaning of the paragraph seems to me to be that for transporting the monuments which are to be brought up somewhere the usual inclined plane is to be made of bricks. Then the scribes tell the officer the measures of the inclined plane and ask him (he understands nothing about it) to tell them how many bricks are necessary.

"In the second paragraph I understand still less.

"'Empty the box which is loaded with sand under the monument of your master that has been brought out of the red mountain.

It measures 20 cubits if it is stretched on the ground, width 20 cubits passover[?] with 20 *šmm* full of sand of the beach. The *Z:j* its? *šmm* are 44 cubits in width, they are all 50 cubits high.'

"What follows concerns the people who will not work so long or something like it. . . .

"*šmm* is written as if it were a building.

"*Z:j* is unknown thus written.

"I think it is a question of sand cases such as Barsanti and Borchardt have shown recently."

Since 1903 I have been unable to give further attention to this interesting subject on account of official duties; but in the interval I believe that nothing has been discovered in Egypt or elsewhere which simplifies the problem.

Professor Erman's translation however confirms me in the opinion that the erection of an obelisk and not of a colossus is contemplated in the papyrus, because where M. Chabas and M. de Saulcy use the word *colosse* which M. de Saulcy interprets as a sphinx, Professor Erman uses the word *Denkmal*, a memorial monument, which would apply to an obelisk.

It will be noted that the dimensions given by the two translators differ somewhat. The length and height of the inclined plane M. Chabas gives as 230 cubits and 60 cubits while Professor Erman give 730 cubits and 50 cubits. This is important as it changes the slope from 1 in 4 to 1 in 14, which is very much more favorable and makes the plane the same height as the sand-box. The size of the box M. Chabas gives as 30×20×50 cubits while Professor Erman makes it 20×20×50 cubits. Neither box is long enough as I will show later. M. Chabas calls the *šmm* "compartments" and says there are 10 of them. Professor Erman gives 20, which would be the most favorable for handling. The differences noted are simply indicative of the difficulty of accurate translation and do not alter the general meaning which is the same in both translations.

Most important of all: Professor Erman says that the last paragraph reads: "Empty the box which is loaded with sand under the monument of your master," which confirms M. de Saulcy's theory in a surprising manner.

Professor Erman's mention of Professor Borchardt and Signor Barsanti refers to the curious discovery of Sig. Barsanti in 1900 of the unoccupied rock tomb of the surgeon Psantik at Saqqaara (about 500 B. C.) and described by M. Capart of the Museum of Brussels in the *Annales de la Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles* in 1901 and by Professor Borchardt in the *Centralblatt der Bauverwaltung Ber-*

lin, Aug. 9, 1902. It is so important a proof of how sand was actually used in lowering heavy weights that I give the details.

In this tomb was found an empty sarcophagus with its 17-ton cover resting on blocking sufficiently high above it to admit the mummy sidewise. This cover was furnished with four projections, two on each side, which fitted into vertical grooves in the sides of the tomb chamber. The vertical grooves connected at the bottom with horizontal grooves which in turn connected with a cavity in the floor under the sarcophagus. Immediately under the projections of the cover were cylindrical wooden plugs, the remainder of the grooves and the connecting cavity being filled with sand. After the mummy had been placed in the sarcophagus, the blocking was removed, leaving the cover resting on the wooden plugs. A workman then went under the sarcophagus and gradually removed the sand from the cavity, thus permitting the sand under the plugs to flow into the cavity until the cover descended to its final resting place on top of the sarcophagus. Occupied tombs were afterwards found with cover and plugs in place.

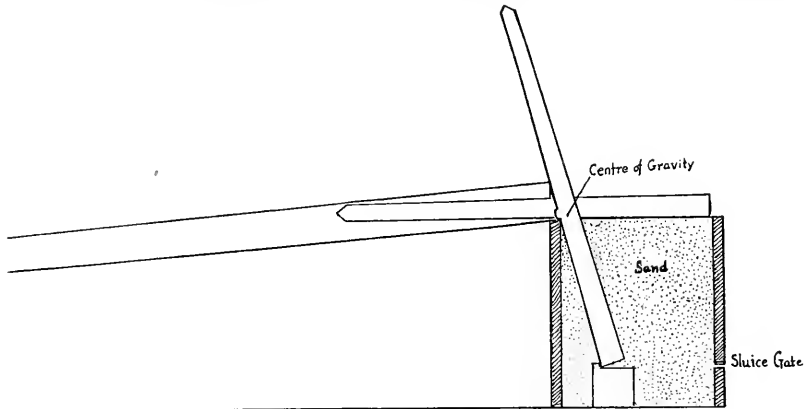
Professor Borchardt says that "this is the oldest instance of the use of sand-boxes which are now often utilized for gradually sinking and transferring heavy weights." This is quite true. In 1908 they were used at the launching of the cruiser *Blücher* at Kiel, the weight of the ship being transferred from the blocking to the launching ways by the use of cast iron boxes 22×16×16 inches in which oak plugs were loosely fitted. The boxes were half filled with burned molding sand which under pressure flowed out of holes in the middle of each side at the bottom, like heavy oil and flowed freely unless it caught and piled up on the bed timbers so as to rise to the level of the holes.

It is curious that Sig. Barsanti's discovery shows that the Egyptians were applying the sand-box method 500 years B. C. with weights of 17 tons while the Papyrus Anastasi I would indicate that it was being applied 800 years before that with weights of 1447 tons.

It has always interested mechanical minds to conjecture how the ancient Egyptians could have raised their obelisks considering the very primitive mechanical appliances to which they are supposed to have been limited, for no pictures or detailed descriptions have ever been found. The most plausible supposition is that it was done by dragging the heel to the top of the pedestal and lifting the head by means of ropes leading over an adjacent wall, the operation being assisted by levers and blocking under the head, and in 1905 Professor Borchardt in his *Baugeschichte des Ammonstempels von Karnak*,

proves conclusively that the grooves now found in the pedestals of dismantled obelisks were used for wooden chocks to prevent the heel from slipping under these circumstances. It is true that M. Choisy in his *Ancient Egyptian Mechanics* shows by a series of line drawings, an obelisk at the top of an inclined plane pivoting itself automatically about its center of gravity with nothing whatever to support its larger end, and no explanation in the text; but it is needless to say that without the most modern appliances of heavy steel straps, trunnions, frames, movable girders, jacks, etc., etc., such as were used in mounting the obelisks in London and New York, such an operation would be impossible.

No obelisk that exists or whose remains have been found would weigh more than 400 tons; but in this case we have one weighing



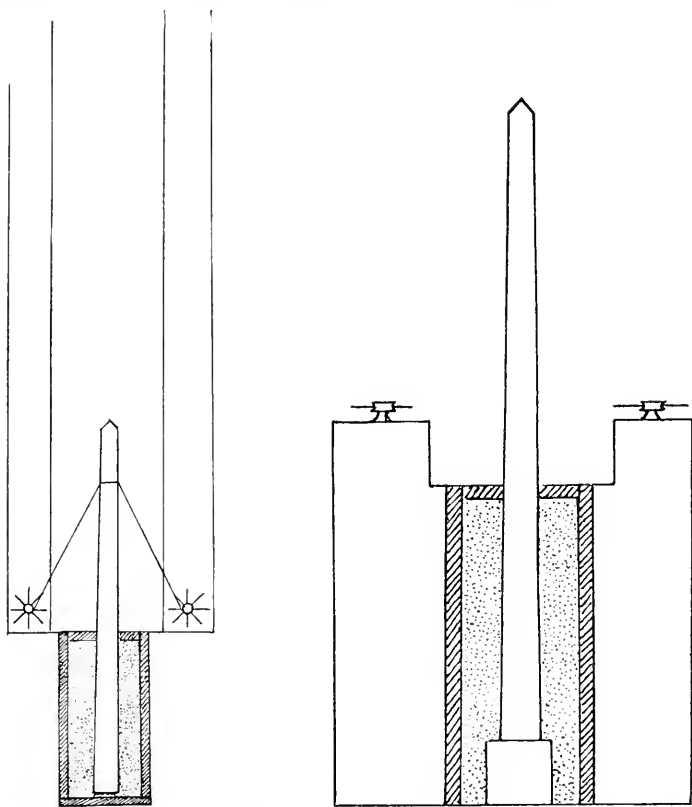
PIVOTING THE OBELISK ABOUT ITS CENTER OF GRAVITY—SIDE VIEW.

1447 tons and it seems idle to consider ropes leading over walls, or levers and blocking in mounting it.

I once made a calculation¹ to ascertain how many men would be required to drag the Karnak obelisk which weighs 374 tons. It proved to be 5585 men harnessed in double rank to four drag ropes and covering a space of 1400 feet. The obelisk of the papyrus would therefore require 21,600 men, and they would cover a space on the road for over a mile. Nobody could drill such a body of men to pull together. Capstans must therefore have been employed. The *sakiya* or geared wheel and water buckets worked by cattle embodies the principle of the capstan, and Wilkinson and most other Egyptologists suppose it to have been introduced into Egypt at the time of the Persian invasion B. C. 527; but its principle must have been

¹ See Barber, *The Mechanical Triumphs of the Ancient Egyptians*. London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1900.

used at least as early as the time of the Papyrus Anastasi I. By its use the obelisk was hauled up and projected on top of the sand-box as shown in the illustrations, where I have used Professor Erman's total height of 50 cubits which corresponds to the height of the road bed of M. de Sauley. There must have been also a solid wide border or ledge on each side and higher than the road bed, not only for mounting the capstans, but in order to be able to wedge the obelisk



THE OBELISK ON THE CAISSON.
Vertical view.

THE OBELISK ON ITS PEDESTAL.
Front view.

back into position in case it got out of line in coming up the incline.

The height of the pedestal is 10 cubits and that of the center of gravity of the obelisk is 41 cubits from its base; together they are equal to 51 cubits which is one cubit more than the height of the box as given both by M. Chabas and Professor Erman.

The size of the box according to M. Chabas is $30 \times 20 \times 50$ cubits; but according to my calculation and illustration it should be at least

40×20×50 in order that the obelisk may swing about its center of gravity. It is possible that the measure 44 of the “*Šmm* full of sand” has something to do with this dimension, and Professor Erman says it is written as if it were a building.

The box would be carefully caulked and would contain 11,000 tons of sand exclusive of the space occupied by the pedestal which weighs 461 tons. I have taken the weights of granite and sand from Haswell's *American Tables*, the former as 166 pounds per cubic foot and the latter as 120. Perhaps Egyptian sand and granite may be nearer alike. The nearer they are the less would be the tendency of the obelisk to slide as it approached the perpendicular, though any such small tendency could be overcome by leaving at the quarry a small projection on the obelisk nearly under the center of gravity, which would be cut off afterwards. The box would be strongly buttressed to prevent its bursting, and there would be lashings about the pivoting point of the obelisk; but the illustrations are only intended to show the principles involved and all superfluities are omitted.

The obelisk would at all times during its pivoting be steadied by rope guys from the head and heel, and I have placed the pedestal (with a projection to be cut off) at such a point that the obelisk when reaching it would rest on the edge of the heel and there would be a space of 5 or 6 inches at the opposite edge to clear the sand out before bringing it to the vertical by means of the guys. Very likely the edge would be splintered on account of the immense weight resting on it and it would necessarily pivot on this edge when coming to the vertical. Probably it would jump an inch or two just when it reached an upright position; but nearly all obelisks *are* splintered at the base, and Professor Borchardt's careful measurements show that they nearly all have jumped.

It is obvious that with so crude a method as this for mounting an obelisk without modern appliances to ensure accuracy—although it is very ingenious—the Egyptian engineers would be in great difficulties about landing the obelisk on the pedestal. They would be careful to pivot it at such a point that the heel would *not* come below the upper surface of the pedestal—such an error would be irreparable. They would more likely err in the other direction, i. e., the heel would perhaps arrive slightly above the pedestal. To meet this difficulty I have provided a small projection (afterward cut off) above the inner edge of the pedestal. If the error was still greater the upper edge of the inclined plane and the box would be cut away and the obelisk at great risk allowed to slide.

If my demonstration of this ancient problem is correct, the operation could be suspended at any time by simply closing the sluice gates. This is possibly what was done in order to rest and refresh the troops before the time arrived to run out the last of the sand and tilt the obelisk to the vertical when every man would be required.

* * *

Since sending this article to the publishers, I have seen Prof. A. H. Gardiner's learned and interesting *Papyrus Anastasi I.*² It is the most complete translation of this exceedingly difficult document that has ever been made, but it throws little additional light on the obscurities of the mechanical problem. The only material change in the data is that he makes 100 *Smm* or compartments in the sand-box instead of the 20 of Professor Erman or the 10 of M. Chabas and this would make the sections of M. de Saulcy easier to handle. Professor Gardiner adheres to the idea of his predecessors that the colossus is a statue to be erected quite distinct from the obelisk to be transported, though his more complete translation shows that they both came from the same quarry which is an additional argument in favor of my idea that they are one and the same monument. He works out and illustrates both the inclined plane and the obelisk in the most satisfactory manner; but he does not attempt to demonstrate the working of the sand-box or to illustrate it either in connection with the colossus as does M. de Saulcy or with the obelisk as in my article.

Professor Gardiner's translation however brings out a side issue which is curious. He says that the transportation of the obelisk is in the form of a problem in which, the dimensions being known, the scribe is asked to estimate the number of men required to drag the obelisk. This being the case perhaps they did not use capstans; but if so they must have massed the men more solidly than in 4 double ranks or 8 abreast, which I took because it is the number shown in the famous picture of the transport of a colossus on a sledge on the wall of a tomb at El Berreh, B. C. 2466. Now if instead of 8 abreast, the men were placed 72 abreast occupying the entire width of the road of 55 cubits (allowing 16 inches to each man), the whole 21,600 would form a column 300 men long; and supposing each man to be 12 inches thick and the rows of men 24 inches apart, they would cover a space of 900 feet on the road. An ordinary man working 8 hours per day can pull or push with a force of 30 pounds, so that were these 21,600 men attached to 36 drag

²J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, Leipsic, 1911.

ropes or put into some kind of a strong wheeled frame measuring 96 feet wide by 900 feet long (slightly larger than the deck measurement of the Titanic) and furnished with cross spars, the force would be sufficient to drag the 1447 ton obelisk mounted on a sledge from the quarry to the foot of the inclined plane, and putting the frame behind the obelisk they could push it up the inclined plane and on top of the sand-box. Besides this number of men, if there were 58 spars lashed across the obelisk with 25 men on each side, 2500 men more could be added to the force. Were all these men drilled to push or pull together and by means of whips urged to exert themselves as was customary in those days, it would be possible to transport the obelisk without capstans. It seems more probable, however, that capstans were used on the inclined plane at least.

To drag an object on a sledge on a level or on any grade up to 1 in 10 a force of $\frac{1}{5}$ to $\frac{1}{6}$ its weight is required. I have allowed a little more than $\frac{1}{5}$ as the Egyptians are small men.

THE NEW MORALITY.

BY F. W. ORDE WARD.

THE present day seems remarkable, among other things, for a silent revolution, undermining both character and conduct, which apparently attracts but little or no attention. We have, in short, a process of appreciation and depreciation affecting our new and old standards of morality. Not that we possess any new ethic expressly formulated. Yet obedience to the ancient rule or prescription stands condemned as out of fashion and *inconvenable*. That which used to be considered a virtue now finds itself smiled at or just sneered away. Appeal lies to the most untrustworthy of all guides—namely to public opinion, which perpetually veers or shifts with every shadow and each passing gust of popular belief or favor.

“Our oracle says,” Plato tells us, “that when a man of brass and iron guards the state it will be destroyed.” No longer do we meet with references to the ultimate tribunal, or the best and highest—or, to continue the metaphor, to the leaders of gold and silver, but to working methods or practical measures, to immediate profit or the present situation. Utilitarian principles govern us first and foremost, *il faut vivre*. Phocylides with his famous precept, “As soon as a man has a livelihood he should practise virtue,” should be in great esteem now. At any rate, his advice appears to be almost universally followed.

Morality, long divorced from religion, has become local and limited, temporary and formal, a mere hebdomadal confession. The working code, if code it can be called, ignores ethical sanctions and proceeds by accommodation and compromise. That which is expedient, not the right and the good, sways men’s minds and dictates their deeds. In actual business and the rough competitions of everyday life, nobody thinks of moral vindication or what hand put the clock of creation on and directs it now. The regulating power resides in the varying syntheses of society. Causes have been rele-

gated to the background, and we agree to take things as they are and facts as we find them.

Origins, when we come to positive action, do not trouble and do not even concern us. They belong to the playground of poets or the arena of metaphysical debate. Men of affairs forget that unmoral work has no meaning and no value and no vitality, and by its very shortcomings challenges some supreme authority and indeed thereby infers its existence. Just as there is no finality possible in the Buddhist Karma, it implies and virtually reposes on the presence of God behind and beyond, to give it any real contents. We want our labor of thought or act to be more and not less moralized, and to be baptized into the spirit of Christ. And the Buddhist, with his perpetual recombination of the five great elements or Skandhas does not, as he imagines, create individuality, he only states and re-states it in his particular terms. Force, such as he postulates, needs something more—namely, the informing fire of personification, to clothe it with substance and real significance. Nothing personal can come from the impersonal. We cannot get out of any thing more than that which is in it.

Commercial coarsening of estimates and standards retards and does not advance the progressive interests of mankind. On the forward march of civilization so called we drop at our peril the moral sanctions, in exchange for miserable substitutes and transitory expedients. If we revise our judgments, as we must from time to time, we dare not palter with the first principles and live from day to day by the aid of a vague and variable casuistry in a state of constant flux. The minor morals, if we may use the expression, of the customs and courtesies change and will change, but not the ultimate.

Plato, in the Republic, talks about "our present system of medicine which may be said to educate disease." And when a society begins to grow corrupt, and despises the virile virtues and masculine morality, it draws perilously near to this fatal decline. The lower and more feminine excellences, the softnesses and sweetnesses of life, the decadent dignities of false honor and fallacious philanthropy, which relieves itself from genuine service by words of calculated kindness and a sympathy weighed out in pecuniary scales, all these have usurped the throne of the hardier and more heroic morals. It seems so much easier and more effective to be charitable by proxy and to pay other persons to do our own work. We think here at any rate, but we think wrongly, *qui facit per alium facit per se*. This may be good law, but it is bad gospel. There are some charities which cannot be relegated to servants or intermediaries, in which

man should meet man and heart meet heart. There is only one kind of true love, but there are a thousand different copies of it.

In the Upanishads, we find wisdom gradually superseding goodness, and it was from the Upanishads that Buddhism with its sublime selfishness was directly derived. The doctrine of the mere "will to live" seems absolutely impotent to save a soul, for we want the far higher and more Christlike principle the "will to love." And this necessarily means the subordination of self to others. We at the present day seem to put Wisdom (of a squalid mercenary type) before Goodness, and often couple with it hedonistic (but not really Hellenic) form of physiolatry.

Lao-tsu, one of the very greatest philosophers who ever lived, said that propriety (or the mere varnish of virtue) was the beginning of moral decay. And we find that natural result and the truth of his words in the externalities of Confucianism. In the observance of mere social forms and conventions, as representations of morality, we have a forlorn attempt to crystallize the fleeting and a sort of cultivated corruption. It is the rebellion of the particular and impermanent against the law of the universal and permanent.

Socrates, as expounded by Plato, kept always protesting against this, in his search for general principles. Something like tropism, or the action of mere external causes, appears to determine much of our transient morality. The growth proceeds rather from without than from within—the true process of evolution. It possesses, so to speak, no median plane or plane of symmetry. We meet with analogies and makeshifts and desperate expedients and no sort of system. Haphazard provisions, asymmetrical departures confront us everywhere.

Conscience, or as some might prefer to express it, the racial memory or inheritance of organized instincts—the mind, that is to say, on its moral side—acts as a kind of receiver or sorting-house in which definite changes and exchanges and interchanges occur, as the good and evil are gradually sifted and separated from each other. Here we have nothing casual or speculative. The external distinctions of right and wrong adjust themselves and stand in eternal antagonism. We find ethical as well as chemical biogens. These seem to operate as enzymes, and by mere presence break up the complex materials introduced into the mind by the senses, and form fresh stable moral compounds. As against this natural growth, set the whims of a moment, a wave of mere impressionism, touching the surface alone of society and generating a superficial response in some artificial propriety, which has within it and behind it no real fundamental sanction. Morality, like musical instruments, requires occa-

sional retuning and keying up again to the concert pitch. From generation to generation we must consider our ways, take stock of our ethical state, and see exactly where we stand; because, in course of time, old standards become materialized by popular use, toned down, watered, alloyed, debased, sophisticated, and excused and explained away into bare consuetudinal arrangements, without any root in reality or the nature of things.

Now biologists seem pretty well agreed that a purely physical elucidation does not cover all the facts of all the movements in the simplest unicellular organisms. And so convenience or fashion, or passing moods, will never explain or construct the humblest ethic. We must go infinitely deeper and farther and reckon with the cosmic pulse of the Christ principle and the everlasting forces. When a society grows utterly effete and degraded, revolution comes to the aid of evolution and the moral biogens set to work and begin immediately to divide and re-adjust and recombine and organize the imperishable elements and the old facts with a new face.

The Keltic creed declares, "It ought to be, it must be, it is." But we say, "It is, and therefore it ought to be and must be." But the new morality makes the wish enough, and proceeds to clothe it with the authority and power of some brief and squalid reaction, while maintaining perhaps outward observances and a proper appearance. And what is this but an unconscious tribute to the eternal truths?

It may be questioned here if the Reformation, by proclaiming the principles of rationalism, did not effect more than a breach in visible unity. Dislocation of establishments suggests, if it does not create, dislocation of the sanctities. Anyhow, when we attempt to explain the whole by the part, we are launched at once on the shallows of a vulgar empiricism. The Reformation had to come in the inevitable course of things, but it possessed the defects of its qualities, and in the hands of imperfect instruments it achieved but imperfect results, and was associated with many evils and led to much loose thinking and worse living. *Corruptio optimi pessima*. And it may be now that, from this great event, rationalists and irrationalists of society alike imagine themselves competent no less than free to revise their religions and ethical standards at their pleasure.

The well-known mistake contained in the marriage service of an unhappy edition of the Prayer-Book—namely "*so long as ye both shall like*"—expresses a good deal of so-called morality in our days. The personal factor, the caprice of a fashionable community or indi-

vidual, make and break commandments as they choose. *Cela sante aux yeux.*

Some professors may and will, no doubt, still consider the ego but a convenient and compendious expression which cannot be accepted in any scientific sense. And yet *consensus omnium* resists. And that seems good enough to live by—the fact, that, whatever we say, we act on the universal belief, the existence of a responsible *ego*, or soul. As the French girl explained about ghosts, *Je ne les crois pas mais je les crains!*

We need not be so rude as Boyle, when he abused “the sooty Empiries having their eyes darkened and their brains troubled with the smoak of their own Furnaces.” The soul never was or will be the mere reflex or culmination of certain physical stimuli and cerebral vibrations. The denial of the truth often proves stronger than any affirmation. For whence comes the negation and the ability to pronounce judgment? Can it conceivably arise from the most lightly organized result of purely physical factors? We want just now a modern Socrates. Eucken we have and honor, Bergson we know and value, but we need at the present day a more practical philosopher, to meet false science and bad morality on their own grounds and expose the underlying fallacies that can only pave the road to ruin and spiritual bankruptcy. For an unsound ethics means an unsound religion and an unsound life. We cannot separate the two, religion and ethics, they stand or fall together.

Our moral conceptions insensibly color all we say and do, affect our national conduct and influence our international relations. We find gaps in the elements which even the genius of Mendeljeff could not bridge. For instance, between “molybdenum” and “ruthenium,” between “tungsten” and “osmium,” and between “bismuth” and “radium.” But woe to any nation that permits the least sort of discontinuity between its religion and morality, or its religion and its life. We are fast filling up the blanks left by the immortal Mendeljeff, just because we know exactly or at least approximately, what the missing element should be. It has been predicted that the gap between “molybdenum” and “ruthenium,” for instance, will be supplied by a homologue of “manganese.” But in the spiritual world of which we speak, there are no faults, no breaks, no *lacunae*. Here we find no periodic law, but the Eternal and the Absolute, on which the being of God himself lies. For the divine character and conduct can be nothing less than moral like ours in kind at any rate—if not in degree. Hence alone becomes possible the transformation of the human into the divine.

“Until philosophers are kings—cities will never have rest from their evils.” Plato always knew well what he was talking about and at that day he could not easily have said more, even in the light of that large teaching which made Socrates (essentially a Christodidact) a saviour of the human race. But when he declared, “Dialectic and dialectic alone, goes directly to the first principle, and is the only science which does away with hypotheses in order to make her ground secure,” he spoke well and wisely of course but not so well or wisely. We now should be rather disposed to put it differently. And we would maintain that the Christophoroi are the sole kings, and Christ himself is the First Principle and the Divine Dialectic, by which we reach it. Plato has priceless jewels of thought scattered about his writings, like the code of holiness in Lev. xvii. 26. And like the Old Testament, his philosophy offers us no literary unit, but simply the deeper unity of spirit. He foresaw other redeemers of the race, who would count all things but loss for the excellency of the epignosis or higher knowledge consummated in none but Christ—the knowledge that is life eternal.

The divorce between profession and practice obtained then as now—men (the very wisest) knew not of what spirit they were. All that is good or true or beautiful is ultimately some function or power of Christ. In Him morality and religion are one and the same. No yawning gulfs, no unlit intervals, no unmapped country of debatable land divide the two. And that which He professed He practised. Whatever it was that He touched, so to express it, He transmuted and glorified under the spell of Love.

The “valency” of every one and everything was the capacity to combine, the ability for intimate association. Just as in the cosmos, the phenomena we observe, physical and mental, are but so many transformations of energy, in like manner Christ cared for nothing but the transvaluations of Love.

Clerk Maxwell called the universe an organized system of credit, or the transfer of energy from one body to another—the transfer or payment being work. Now, whatever protoplasm may be, in the soul or spiritual area we meet with ceaseless vital and moral exchanges. We have ethical action and reaction, and the process perpetually goes on which builds up the character or soul. But, unless the response of the ego to the environment be faithful and conscientious, unless the external conduct truly and adequately interprets the life within, spiritual decay commences. A house divided against itself cannot stand. When life passes from the unconscious to the conscious, from the automatic to the volitional and deliberate, any false

transmission of the heart's reports must be fatal. To get the desired moral result or the efficient balance there must be a correspondence between the two factors. We find ourselves given to ourselves and others for others, as moral agents and spiritual personalities with definite accountabilities. And we dare not betray our trust. If anything could kill the soul, surely it would be the refusal to respond truly to its divine solicitations.

Life of every kind, physical, mental, moral, consists of energy in action, energy bearing fruits—producing and reproducing for ever and ever—and the highest is the capacity for doing work, good work, Christly work. The afferent and efferent forces must cooperate harmoniously. It seems utterly unreasonable to think there may be schism in the ethical area, while we do all we can to prevent it in the body. Our congenital instincts, whether “fixed chains and impulsive acts,” or “compound reflex actions,” or “inherited motor responses,” or “racial memories,” forbid such suicidal conduct as regards our physical home. But we appear to consider ourselves at liberty to treat lightly and contradictorily our noblest faculties. Hence the present depreciation of the supreme moral currency as outgrown sentiment or something quite quixotic and impossible.

Nothing just now seems to be taken seriously, and perhaps least of all the sacred. Carlyle's gospel of earnestness and enthusiasm to the vast majority, whether they are pleasure-seekers or profit-seekers, remains a dead letter. Morality, if it deserves the name, has degenerated (so far as practice goes) to something rudimentary like the pseudopodia of the Rhizopods, whose nervous system commences externally, and not internally. It resembles rather a degraded surface adhesion, and looks like the anachronism of some lingering survival—a patch of egg shell on the agnostic chicken's back. It means little or nothing, and possesses no working value. In the organized hypocrisy of the fashionable world in which dress and deportment and scandal count most, truth and honor and purity too frequently are openly ridiculed as out of date, the property of prigs and the valuables of pedants, that may or may not include deans and dowagers, young children and servants. Look at the marriage tie, the bond of union not merely for the family but for the nation. It is often but a shield for vice, a respectable shadow for intrigue. Disunited couples, according full licence to each other, consent to deceive and be deceived. People want to be amused, and not to serve others or God, or to live. We read, that when Tetramiti become exhausted, two old and fruitful ones fuse into one strong organism. And so, it may be, society will be saved from

below, and regeneration will arise from a revolutionary democratic blending of the weak and robust elements.

Not only is the letter of Christ's teaching explicitly or implicitly ignored or denied or ridiculed, but also the spirit. He told us not to take offence—resist not evil. But the modern code resists everything except temptation. Joseph Hall has well put our attitude towards wrongs real or imaginary. "A small injury shall go as it comes; a great injury may dine or sup with me; but none at all shall lodge with me." Napoleon even who paid little homage to truth said, "*En politique il ne faut pas être trop menteur.*" But in war and business nowadays the ordinary soldier or commercialist might fairly indorse the French girl's alleged invariable confession, "*J'ai toujours menti.*" We seem returning to something immeasurably inferior to ethnic morality—truthfulness and honor when it is convenient or pays, and hard lying when straightforwardness seems inconvenient, or does not pay. Such an occasional or intermittent attack of rectitude has more to do with disease than ethics, and requires the assistance of the doctor and not the divine. It is easy to entertain conscientious scruples when profitable. Australian natives have no numerals above three, and modern ethics appears quite as limited, and gives the effect of being bounded by the Rule of Three, like the "physiological arc" of senses, brains, muscles.

One might almost conjecture, as an intelligent visitor from another inhabited planet would, modern morality and modern society had not yet traveled beyond the rudimentary stage of conscious matter—conscientious matter being yet to come. The danger seems to be, that practical ethics, or ethics of the gutter, in which the right yields precedence to the expedient, will eventually be the confessed creed of the world, and we shall then have a rediscoverer of the truth, as Watt and Stevenson rediscovered the value of steam power discovered by Hero in Egypt twenty-three centuries ago.

We must never forget that light conceals far more than it reveals, and knowledge obscures in the very act of unfolding. Till we have grown accustomed to a sudden influx of new light, we feel blinded and not benefited by the unexpected apocalypse. To see at first is not necessarily to understand, nor to reveal, to explain. And so the light of science just at present with its dazzling triumphs has darkened the mind, and tends to exalt the material above the moral. Spiritual powers, ethical excellencies, become soon thereby dwarfed and overshadowed. We must still *fight the good fight of faith and lay hold upon eternal life*. But we shall never be able to do so, by throwing overboard our old moral sanctions.

Mr. A. C. Benson, in his exquisite book *The Silent Isle*, says of Christ's teaching that he told us "to live like birds and flowers." Yes, no doubt, but he also and no less commands us to "agonize." What is worth having at all, is worth fighting for. If we once allow the foundations to be undermined and morality becomes a question of casuistry or a matter of opportunism to be decided by the immediate moment's gain, if we relegate chivalry and the higher choice to a limbo of dead or dying antiquities or to the Utopia of mere speculators or to materials for poetry and romance, and conduct our lives without any reference to Christ and heterotelic interests, we simply reject our safeguards and possess no longer the first and last defence of all. There are no securities like moral securities, and no bulwarks like simple faith. Reason and will are worthless unless moralized so that the ethical element predominates. And the eternal *ἀρετή* and *αἰδώς* still form the cheap bulwarks of nations, better than a fleet of dreadnaughts or a million bayonets.

EARLY CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN JAPAN AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON ITS ART.¹

BY OSCAR MÜNSTERBERG.

CHRISTIAN missionaries of the sixteenth century, and especially the Jesuits, were to a great extent eminent artists and scholars. Schools and universities, hospitals and philanthropic institutions which to-day are carried on under the direction of the state and commonwealth were then in the hands of ecclesiastical orders. Of course the spread of the Christian faith remained the first and noblest task, but the assimilation of technical and intellectual knowledge was practised with equal energy. Their powerful influence on less civilized nations rested in great part on these serviceable attainments and activities.

The fundamental success of the missionaries in far-away Japan was not attained solely by teaching a new faith to those of another religion but also by healing the sick and by the teachings of practical science. To this may be added also the protection by the armed Portuguese mercantile ships with their cannons, and especially the material benefits which accrued to individual princes by the commerce with Europeans across the seas. These visible effects bear testimony to the spiritual superiority of the foreign barbarians from the south, and established in prince and people a confidence based upon admiration. Profitable commercial relations and instruction in better military equipment changed foes into friends. In many principalities they were granted far-reaching privileges.

In 1549 the Jesuit Xavier landed in Japan on his own responsibility, and began the work of Christian baptism in that precarious but fertile field. He was followed by energetic and highly gifted brethren of the same order. Their unselfish industry was recognized by high and low, and the strange figures in their somber black habits

¹Translated by Lydia G. Robinson, from "Die Darstellung von Europäern in der japanischen Kunst" in the *Orientalisches Archiv*.

became in many places an odd but welcome sight in the highly colored picture of Japan city life. Later, in 1581, Dominicans, Augustinians and Franciscans came also to the island empire. The monks accentuated with proud consciousness their conspicuous costume, and in 1593 the Franciscans who came on a political errand as representatives of the king of Spain refused to put on the silken garments offered them. According to the regulation of their order they appeared with bare feet and uncovered heads in their coarse habits and rope girdles before Hideyoshi who received the strangers



CHRISTIAN TEMPLE WITH JESUITS.

in all his dignity surrounded by the fabulous splendor of eastern Asiatic court life.

In the first place, peculiar political conditions favored the extension of Christianity on the island. The emperor had lost his power, and the government was virtually in the hands of two hundred and sixty more or less independent nobles as in the feudal times of Europe. Civil wars raged throughout the empire. Each prince sought with envious eyes to gain and keep his own advantage. Therefore in the south where there were excellent natural harbors some of the minor barons greeted with joy the arrival of the Portu-

guese merchants. The long-ranged firearms seemed to them first to be witchcraft but were quickly recognized as welcome aid in time of war, so that by 1556 almost all the cities were provided with firearms. The exchange of the ships' merchandise for precious metals and native products was a great advantage to the barons who were in the midst of war and had no money. But where the Europeans had not come there arose envy and enmity.

The Jesuits had the same experience as the merchants. As countrymen of the Portuguese they gained permission in many principalities to travel from place to place, to preach and to build churches. The first prince to be baptized was the baron (*daimio*) of Omura, baptized at Kyushu in the south of the island. Other princes became hostile to the new faith partly from envy and partly for material advantage.

Hideyoshi, the Napoleon of Japan, who had advanced from the ranks to the position of imperial commander-in-chief, besieged all independent nobles and conquered them with a strong hand in the name of the emperor. He was favorably inclined to commerce and the missionaries. In 1570 there are said to have been two hundred thousand Christians. In 1585 the princes of Bungo and Arima sent their sons to Rome where great solemnities were celebrated by the Jesuits. In 1596 the first Catholic bishop of Japan was solemnly received by Hideyoshi. At the time of the unfortunate expedition to Korea the command was divided between two generals, one of whom was a Christian and commanded the southern troops who represented the most Christian part of the realm.

There was no intrinsic connection between church and commerce, but only a more external, mutual support. Matters were different when Portugal became united to Spain. The Spaniards conquered the Philippines in 1564, and organized a regular maritime commerce with Spanish Central America and with China. The country around Manila was plundered and entirely impoverished according to the custom of the Conquistadores of that day, but the trade with Macao which the Portuguese established in 1557 as well as that with the Moluccas and Mexico brought great returns. At first Augustinian monks accompanied the Spaniards, soon afterwards Dominicans and Franciscans, and later still the Jesuits.

Necessities of life were brought from Japan to the Philippine Islands but otherwise the maritime commerce belonged solely to Portugal.

Hideyoshi desired to safeguard his dominion from internal dissension by foreign expeditions and planned the conquest of Korea

and China. A Christian apostate, Faranda Kiyemon, directed his attention to the natural wealth of the Philippine Islands and pointed out that they were defended by a very small force, so that their conquest would be easily achieved. Thereupon in 1592, through the agency of the above-mentioned Faranda, Hideyoshi ordered the Spanish governor-general Gomez Perez de la Marinas to recognize him as sovereign or he would take the Philippines by force of arms. The governor sent Franciscan monks to Japan to negotiate, and they were successful in concluding a treaty. Commerce from Japan to the Philippines as well as free navigation to Japan was preserved, and a military offensive and defensive alliance was guaranteed in case of war with a third party. At the same time the Franciscans built a Christian church in the capital city Meaco, the Kyoto of to-day, and in 1594 this church was dedicated. A second cloister followed soon in Okasa.

The Portuguese carried on a profitable trade as peaceful commercial people, and the clever Jesuits taught and made converts on their own responsibility with tactful deference to the customs and traditions of the Japanese, whereas on the other hand the Spaniards stood for political power and opened the first official intercourse of Japan with a European country.

The Franciscan monks were tolerated as ambassadors of the king. Overestimating the safety of their position, they preached in public places under the very walls of the imperial palace and instituted great religious processions, whereas the Jesuits had shown much greater foresight and prudence and had exercised their greatest activity in the several counties but not in the imperial capital which was the center of the Shinto and Buddhist sects.

In 1596 the Spanish brig San Felipe,² heavily laden with merchandise and passengers on the way from the Philippines to America, was driven out of its course by a storm. Its rudder was lost and the captain Don Mathia de Landecho was compelled to decide upon a landing in Japan in order to make the necessary repairs in his boat. In the harbor of Hirado the repairs were authorized by the local officials, but the water was not deep enough and the boat ran

²De Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Philipinas dirigidos a Don Christoval Gomez de Sandoval y Rojas, Duque de Cea*, por el Doctor Antonio de Morga, Alcalde del Crimende la Real Audiencia de la Uueva Espana, Consultor del Santo Officio de la Inquisicion, Mexico ad Indos, Anno 1600.

This exceedingly rare book was published in 1886 in an English translation by the Hakluyt Society in London: A. de Morga, *The Philippine Islands, Moluccas, Siam, Cambodia, Japan and China at the Close of the Sixteenth Century*, translated from the Spanish by the Hon. H. E. J. Stanley.—A new edition of the Spanish text was published by José Rizal in 1890 at Paris. I have used the English edition, pp. 75 ff.

aground. The merchandise had to be unloaded and brought to shore. The Spaniards were kindly received, but the permission of the central authorities had to be obtained before the ship could be repaired. The captain at once sent an embassy with rich gifts to Hideyoshi. A Franciscan and an Augustinian who had dwelt in that country for some time and had come on board the ship to offer assistance accompanied the embassy as mediators. The monks who had formerly come as ambassadors from the King of Spain were living in Meaco, the present Kyoto. In opposition to the Jesuits, who claimed a monopoly in Japan on the basis of a papal edict of the year 1585, these monks had limited themselves to the erection of a monastery and hospital in the capital.

Hideyoshi refused at first to admit the embassy, and because of the Japanese official report of the great treasures of the ship demanded the confiscation of the goods and the imprisonment of all the foreigners until the necessary investigations could be made. All the efforts of the Franciscan prelates only strengthened Hideyoshi's distrust. Moreover, Francisco de Landa, the pilot of the ship, wished to impress the Japanese with the power of the Spanish king and pointed out on the ship's chart how the dominion of Spain extended over the whole world. To the question how such results could be possible with so few warriors he gave the very naive explanation that first monks were sent into foreign lands and then the Spanish soldiers gained support from the baptized natives.

This information was conveyed to Hideyoshi with the result that all the monks of the embassy were condemned to death as spies without further investigation. Six Spanish Franciscan monks and seventeen native assistants, including also from some misunderstanding three Japanese Jesuits, were taken prisoners and crucified on February 5, 1597, on a hill near Nagasaki.³

³ *Auss befehl Herrn Francisci Teglij Gubernators, und general Obristens der Philippinischen Inseln, um welcher kürztlich angezeigt wird, welcher Gestalt sechs geistliche Brüder auss Hispania, dess Ordens S. Francisci von der Observantz sambt andern 20 newlich von ihnen bekehrten Japonesen im Königreich Japon den 14 Martij dess verschinen 1597 Jars umb dess christlichen Glaubens willen seyn gecreutziget worden und durch die Gnaden Gottes die seligste Marter Cron erlangt haben. Auss Spanischer in die Welsch, jetzund aber auch in die Teutsch Sprach verwendet. Gedruckt zu München, bey Adam Berg. Cum licentia Superiorum; Anno 1599 (2 Holzschnitte).*

In this account March 14 is given as the day of the crucifixion, while Morga (published 1609, see note 2) places it on February 5. This last date seems to be more correct, for Morga (Hakluyt edition, p. 81-82) prints a letter which was written as a farewell greeting to him from some monks, and in this we read: "On the way to crucifixion January 28, 1597." In the church of St. Michael in Munich in the middle isle to the left there is an oil painting representing the martyrdom of three Japanese Jesuits beatified in 1627, and

The rest of the Spaniards were allowed to return unmolested to Manila on Portuguese and Japanese trade vessels where they brought the first news of the affair in May. The fear that a general persecution of Christians would follow was not confirmed. The wrath of Hideyoshi was directed only against the political mission of the monks and not against the Europeans as such so long as they simply carried on trade or practised their religion. We can not speak of an actual persecution of Christians at that time. This view is further confirmed by later developments.

The Spaniards never thought of seeking revenge for those who were slain nor of breaking their relations with Japan. On the contrary the governor Francisco Tello de Guzmán strove to save as much as possible of the ship and its cargo, in value about a million. He determined to send an embassy with a letter to Hideyoshi in which he gave him some idea of his method of procedure and besought him to allow the repair of the ship and to give him back the ship's freight, its armament and rigging and the bodies of the crucified monks.

Captain Don Luis Navarrete Fajardo was selected to be the ambassador. Rich treasures of gold and silver, of swords and precious materials were sent along as gifts for Hideyoshi. An elephant too, "the like of which had not been seen before in Japan," accompanied the embassy. The fate of the elephant is not known. Rizal, the editor of the French reprint, adds in a note that it probably refers to one of the two elephants which had come to Manila a short time before as a gift of the king of Kambodja.

The Spanish ship landed at Nagasaki. Hideyoshi declared himself ready to receive the Spanish embassy and to accept the gifts, among which he was particularly desirous of seeing the elephant. The answer was absolutely satisfactory. All the property still in existence was given back, although, according to the coast regulations of Japan which also prevailed in Europe at that time, the shipwrecked vessel and its cargo became the property of the king of that district of the coast. At the same time Hideyoshi requested them not to send monks again but assured a friendly reception to any trade vessel. The embassy was sent back with gifts of lances and arms.

In this account the mention of the elephant is particularly interesting. There is a painting on a screen which represents an elephant among some Europeans and from this we can conclude with cer-

canonized in 1863. Besides this in the second chapel to the left there are three busts of the same men.

tainty (and Nachod was the first to point it out) that the scene represents the reception of the Spanish captain Don Luis Navarrete Fajardo by Hideyoshi in the year 1597. . . .

After the death of Hideyoshi there arose new civil wars lasting until 1600, when after a bloody battle Jesayu of the Tokugawa tribe obtained complete control as imperial Shogun. To be sure the boy Hideyori was a ward of Jeyasu, but he had him besieged in his fortified castle in 1614 and slain.

Meanwhile commerce had greatly increased. The Dutch and the English, the Protestant enemies of the Catholic Spaniards and



THE SPANISH EMBASSY BEFORE HIDEYOSHI.

Painting on screen in the possession of Prince Ruprecht of Bavaria.

Portuguese, had entered into strong competition with them in eastern Asiatic cities. The former landed in Japan in 1609 and the latter three years later. They found strong support in William Adams, the English pilot of a stranded Dutch ship who had been driven to Japan with thirteen men and had become ship-builder in the service of the Japanese court.

Christians were treated very differently in different places. Religion was the private affair of the ruling *daimio*. It therefore happened that one thing would be permitted in certain districts which was forbidden in others. Matters became especially confused when

a new ruler came into power who represented different views from those of his predecessors. In general it was a favorable time for the spread of Christianity. In 1604 the Jesuits numbered 123 members, two colleges, two chief houses, one novitiate, and twenty communities. There were Dominicans in Satsuma, Augustinians in Bungo and Franciscans in the capital. There are said to have been as many as seven hundred and fifty thousand Christians at that time.

Date Masamune, a single *daimio* and not a representative of the central government, sent the ambassador Hasekura Rokuyemon by way of Mexico to Rome in 1613 under the guidance of the Franciscan Sotelus. His portrait painted in oil hangs in the Palazzo Borghese at Rome. There is a copper engraving of this picture as a frontispiece of a book by Sotelus entitled *Relation und gründlicher Bericht von des Königreichs Foxu im Japonischen Keyserthumb Gottseliger Bekchrung und dessentwegen aussgefertigter Ambasciada an Pabstliche Heiligkeit gen Rom usw.*, 1615. While in the west the Asiatics were treated with ceremonial pomp and pride as signs of the victory of the holy faith in the east, matters had at the same time assumed a very different appearance in Japan. In 1614 appeared the first edict against the Christians.

There was little question of deep religious feeling among the few Asiatic Christians. In many local districts the missionaries were tolerated as brethren of the merchants, and the more so since Japan was always tolerant and looked upon religion as a private matter. The Jesuit Pasius in 1605 quoted a very pertinent remark of the Prince of Fingo, Higo of Kyushu: "It makes very little difference whether or not the common people have any faith and law or what it may be."

Christendom utilized many dissatisfied elements as spiritual and religious arms in the battle against the existing government. Thus it came that many Christians joined the side of Hideyori and fought against Jeyasu in the above-mentioned struggle for Osaka. On the other hand a patriotic party arose at court that intrigued against all Europeans. Fear was felt lest with their knowledge of warfare and of the construction of fortifications, and with their use of fire-arms, they might be of service to the revolutionary foes. The result of these political conditions was a law which banished all European priests from the island. There were many who really emigrated, but a large number remained hidden in the country. This law, however, did not have reference to all Christians, for merchants continued to be tolerated as before.

The successors of Jeyasu took energetic measures against the Christians in order to strengthen the dominion and perfect the unified condition of the country on the basis of the traditional world-conception. About this time began the real persecution of the Christians and with it the limitation of foreign commerce to certain localities. A Spanish embassy was refused a hearing in 1624 and intercourse was abruptly broken off. The Portuguese were compelled to confine their commerce to the little island of Dezima until they were finally driven out in 1639. The English gave up their colony of their own accord in 1623, and only the Dutch were able to pursue a limited trade under very undignified conditions upon the little island of Dezima. They were forbidden to set foot in the interior or to land at any other harbor. Only the governor was allowed to attend court with the greatest pomp but under strict surveillance in order to deliver the customary gifts. This state of things lasted until within the nineteenth century.

The persecution of the Christians was at first carried on mildly enough and was directed only against the natives, but in spite of the prohibition European monks continued to be smuggled into the country, and even the Jesuits admitted that the excessive zeal of individual monks increased the persecution. Finally the government interdicted the entrance of European books, and the notorious edict of 1636 forbade even a Japanese to leave his country under pain of death and placed a reward of from 200 to 500 silver pieces for information against a priest. Even the transmission of letters of Europeans was made punishable by death.

In Arima, once governed by a Christian prince who had occasioned the embassy to Rome, the new ruler renounced the faith of his fathers and took energetic action against the many adherents of the Christian doctrine. His successor oppressed the people so that they arose in rebellion against his tyranny. Without any participation on the part of European priests Masudo Shiro, the leader of the peasants' revolt, became converted to Christianity. It was not a struggle on behalf of the Christian religion, but the leaders employed that faith, which had continued to thrive in silence, as a slogan against the central power. The cross was the symbol used in opposition to the sun of the Mikado.

Conquest was a difficult matter since the rebels entrenched themselves skilfully in the mountain fastness of Hara. The peculiar conditions brought it about that even the Dutch with their warships were compelled to give aid to the imperial army against the Christians until the Japanese barons themselves looked upon the

assistance of the foreign barbarians as a disgrace and disclaimed it. Finally starvation forced the fortress to surrender and then there followed a frightful slaughter. About thirty thousand Christians are reported to have been slain in this uprising of Shinabara.

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European soldiers and merchants with their doublets and hose, pointed daggers and round hats, the monks in their long robes, the gigantic ships with their firearms and other wonderful objects aroused the curiosity of people and princes in Japan in the sixteenth century just as the Asiatics in their gorgeous wide-skirted garments did in Europe. Artists in Japan as in Europe took pleasure in portraying the interesting foreign figures.

The pictures of Europeans which the Japanese made in the days when foreigners were welcome, were for the most part either destroyed in the persecution of the Christians which followed, or else fell into ruin unheeded in the following centuries of political exclusiveness and contempt. Only a few contemporary paintings bear witness to that great time when Japan played its part in the intercourse of the world.

Most of the pictures which have come down to us are painted on large screens which the Japanese were fond of using in their spacious rooms to form secluded niches or for protection from curious eyes. The screen (*biyobu*) is an essentially Japanese article of furniture. Its decoration supplies a background in appropriate vein for family and court scenes, for joyous and sad experiences. The choice of the screens in a house was adapted to the occasion through the language of symbolism. When not in use they were folded up and stored away in commodious art rooms.

In the Musée Guimet there are photographs from the Tokyo museum which represent a series still extant in Japan of this sort of screens adorned with figures of Europeans. Japanese publications show copies of some of those in the imperial collection.

The Musée Guimet possesses an original piece of art, a duplicate of which in the form of a screen is to be found in the Victoria and Albert Museum in Room 75, and a third genuine copy was acquired in Japan by his royal highness Prince Ruprecht of Bavaria. These three paintings now in Europe are shown by dates or coats of arms to belong to the end of the sixteenth century.

All these pictures are examples of the style of the Tosa school. The historical setting is painted in water colors on silk or paper in narrative style with strong emphasis on the outlined silhouettes and with color surfaces. It corresponds to the eastern Asiatic concep-

tion that accidental secondary objects should not be regarded in their petty realistic details, but the fundamental thought should be expressed in the most concise form possible, omitting all unessential by-play in which they included even shadows and all light and shadow effects. Therefore the Asiatic can often entirely disregard foreground and all accessories, placing the silhouettes of the figures directly upon a background of neutral gold or some solid color. Nevertheless when there are to be spectators besides the leading personages or when a background is needed, these can be included either because it seems necessary for the meaning of the picture



CHRISTIAN TEMPLE.

that some indication of the locality be given, or because esthetic requirements demand that the empty spaces be filled out in color.

Much has been written on the perspective of the Japanese. This is not the place to enter into it more fully, but in order to understand their style of painting it is necessary to have some knowledge of the law which applies to it. The eastern Asiatic observes objects in three ways. The Tosa artist does not give the picture as an excerpt from life with unified lighting and perspective, but groups together the separate motives he observes and thus constructs a picture which, without reference to the entire truth in nature, gives expression

clearly and concisely to the meaning perceived in the whole. His aim is always to present the significance of the form of expression in rhythmic series of lines.

The environment in which an action takes place—in so far as it is given at all—is represented in a bird's-eye view. Thus we look down from above upon the roofs of houses, but at the same time see far into the temple or the shops. Hence a second point of sight is also chosen which is much lower in position. Likewise the persons in the picture are not seen from above, because then they would appear foreshortened *à la* Tiepolo, but from in front, as the painter



DEPARTURE OF THE SPANIARDS FOR THE COAST.

saw them daily on the street and as they were impressed upon his mind in an established formula. The human figures taken from nature are set like separate pictures into the environment which has been painted from the perspective of a bird's-eye view.

It follows from this sort of composition that there would be no perspective diminution of figures at short distances. On the contrary we even find that in the temple the Jesuit at the altar is painted as the largest figure, the priest is smaller, and the congregation in the foreground are the smallest of all.

In this circumstance we learn the third point of view, the subordination of figures by difference in size. The eye of the beholder

is intended to fall first upon the central figure, and not until afterwards upon the important secondary figures drawn in correspondingly diminished size, and finally upon the least important figures in the picture. Line and color contribute to this successive perception in place of the artistic grasp of the whole picture at one time.

Separate scenes which in our books we separate by different pages are separated on the long scrolls by neutral pieces for which clouds in gold or colors as well as rocks or neutral landscapes are preferably chosen. In paintings on large surfaces and on screens this juxtaposition led to that peculiar arrangement of group pic-



WEDDING OF NAPOLEON AND JOSEPHINE.*

tures which, as we have described, must be looked upon one at a time. This mode of representation was extensively practised in the days of antiquity, and may have been an artistic continuation of the technique of rock reliefs. Pompeian pictures of Roman art show a similar division of space. "Every picture is arranged in a so-called continuous presentation, that is to say, we are not given at one time only one moment in the story on a stage arranged for it exclusively, but the same continuous scenery serves for the arrangement of different incidents."⁴

* This and the following illustrations are taken from Sladen and Lorimer, *More Queer Things About Japan*.

⁴ W. Weisbach, *Impressionismus*, 1910, p. 16.

It is important for us to realize that under the influence of the Jesuits about 1600 a European school of oil painting originated which gave due consideration to the values of light and shade in plastic roundness of objects, and that the persecution of Christians in 1637 so completely exterminated this new artistic tendency that it has exerted no influence whatever upon Japanese schools of art.

A kind of oil painting,⁵ called *midaso* by the Japanese and restorable by the use of oxide of zinc, was employed as early as the sixth century following Chinese models. In the next century



BURNING THE ENGLISH AMBASSADOR.

nothing more is said of this technique: it was entirely superseded by fluid water colors. The same fate befell the technique of the Jesuits.

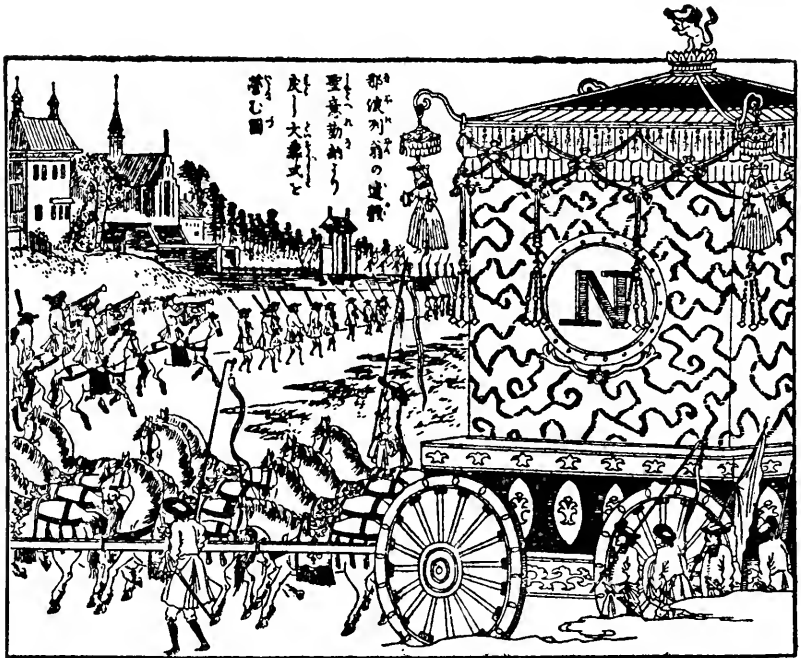
Not until two hundred years later was European oil painting introduced again through the medium of the Dutch by Shibam Kokan who died in 1818.⁶ It is generally known that at the beginning of the nineteenth century European perspective appeared in color prints in Japanese compositions as well as in copies of European prints. A very free mingling of the Japanese and European style in repre-

⁵ Kokka, No. 182. Münsterberg, *Chinesische Kunstgeschichte*, Vol. I, p. 155. Figs. 114-118.

⁶ Two landscapes, with low horizons and diminishing perspectives are reproduced in *Kokka*, No. 219.

senting Europeans was attained in this period which was not second in absurdity to the representation of Asiatics in Europe at the time of the Chinese vogue. As an example I have chosen some illustrations of the life of Napoleon and Alexander the Great.⁷

Ever since the middle of the eighteenth century there have been in Japan isolated ambitious scholars who managed under the greatest difficulties secretly to attain some information of the European world through the medium of the Dutch language. Until modern



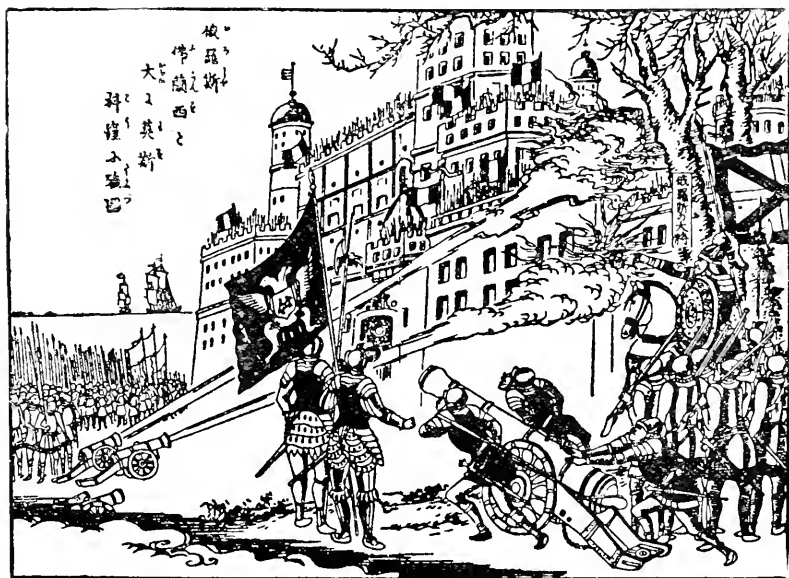
NAPOLEON'S FUNERAL CORTEGE IN PARIS.

times a journey into foreign countries was as strongly forbidden the Japanese as it was forbidden the Hollanders to leave Dezimas except at specified times to bear tribute to the Shogun. The medical knowledge which procured the monks their great following was especially admired. For the first time since the Jesuit period a European work, a Dutch anatomical atlas, was translated into Japanese in 1849.

The brief biographies of Napoleon, Peter the Great, Alexander

⁷ Douglas Sladen and Norma Lorimer, *More Queer Things About Japan*, London, 1904, 133: A Japanese history of Napoleon with lives of Peter the Great, Alexander the Great and Aristotle. Written by a Japanese in the first half of the nineteenth century. With illustrations by a native artist.

the Great and Aristotle are a ridiculous confusion of truth, mis-interpretation, and fiction in text and illustrations. The preface of the Japanese author on the other hand is genuinely Asiatic, showing the lack of any objective comparison with other nations. "Napoleon," says he, "repeatedly dominated the European countries, with the exception of England. He created new laws, supported all branches of science, and helped the poor, but at the same time allowed himself to be guilty of very cruel deeds. Perhaps he was the greatest hero who ever lived in occidental countries, but there is as great a difference between his deeds and his ethics in comparison with the heroes of our own history as between the hog and the lion."!



THE SIEGE OF MOSCOW.

The arms on the banners are interchanged.

The pictures are not copied from European models and are purely Japanese inventions, but as models for landscapes, costumes and armor they utilize old pictures of the Portuguese of the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries which may have been hidden in some palace. Composition and landscape, style and technique, faces and movements are partly Japanese, and the meaning is interpreted as the Japanese imagination has portrayed it. The roasting of the ambassador over the open fire is characteristic of the ethical code of the "Asiatic lion," whereas European heroes would never have disposed of ambassadors in this way. The form of the hearse we

recognize from Japanese processions and the wedding ceremony also corresponds to Asiatic customs. In the siege of Moscow the standards are exchanged, so that the Russian general is outside the fortification and the French within. Napoleon with fettered hands at St. Helena is likewise genuinely Japanese and is apparently copied from a European drawing of some very different scene. Just as European painters characterize the Chinese of all periods by the queue although it was not introduced until 1764, so to the Japanese the armor of the seventeenth century is the distinguishing mark of the European of all lands and times.



ENGLISH SOLDIERS GUARDING NAPOLEON ON ST. HELENA.

Diogenes and Alexander wear costumes which correspond to the allegories with which we have become familiar in the Jesuit prints of about 1590. The manner of the conception is very amusing. A favorite artistic subject in eastern Asia is the philosopher on the mountain top who gazes down into the remote valley in meditation. The narrative style of eastern Asia demands that not only the landscape itself be represented but also the persons connected with it, who must therefore be drawn from behind or in profile since the landscape can not be in the foreground. Thus the back of Diogenes is seen as he looks out into the distance illumined by the beams of the sun. Since Alexander is supposed to step in between him and

the sun, we have Alexander in the nonsensical position behind Diogenes, where his shadow is not visible.

* * *

We see that in the nineteenth century also the Japanese were familiar with European art and knew how to apply it when they wished. However, they regarded western art as of no more value than European ethics which they despised. Their highest ideal for the representation of human beings was a kind of line painting once universal throughout the world, which is in a certain sense two-dimensional and originated in frescoes, always emphasizing the rhythmic filling out of surfaces.



DIOGENES AND ALEXANDER.

The plastic three-dimensional painting of light and shade, whose realistic perfection is best characterized by the legend of the birds picking at the painted grapes of Apelles, never penetrated as far as Asia. In Europe this latter conception existed side by side with the earlier and after the Renaissance became the dominant one, but in Japan we find the other style exclusively down to the present day. Only in the representation of Europeans was European art given a partial consideration so that a mixed style existed which remained without any significance for all other artistic efforts of the island empire.

THE KINDRED OF JESUS AND THE BABYLON OF REVELATION.

BY WILLIAM BENJAMIN SMITH.

Once more—alas, how soon!—returned from

“Annihilating all that’s made
To a green thought in a green shade,”

I hasten to pay due meed of attention to the midsummer night’s dreams in *The Open Court* of August. In Mr. Kampmeier’s article the tides of battle no longer surge and sway around “James the Brother of the Lord,” but rather about “my,” “thy,” “his brethren.” He is quite right in chiding neglect of these personages, and still more in saying, “Dr. Smith has hardly grazed the question of the brotherhood of James, etc.” The direct treatment given *this* matter could hardly be called “grazing” even in Texas. As to the “other brothers of Jesus,” it is granted they were not heavily touched. As even historicists in general set little or no store by them, it seemed scarcely worth while. However, “simply to make the story completer,” let us to the testimony.

In the beginning a word of amendment. Mr. Kampmeier denies that “brothers of the Lord” is “New Testament phraseology,” yet he admits of course that it is “the phraseology of Paul.” Well, Paul is held responsible for some 29 percent of the New Testament, and it was Paul’s usage concerning James that we were talking about. He adds that the “Gospels speak of the brothers of Jesus.” Where? The reader will not find the phrase in the New Testament, though he seek it diligently with tears. True, he will find “my,” “thy,” “his brethren,” where the reference is certainly to Jesus, but here it is a question of “phraseology,” and the phrase “brethren of Jesus” is not in the New Testament.

“I know what say the fathers wise,—
The Book itself before me lies,”

as well as the books of lexicographers not so wise, who talk learnedly about many things and boldly put down "the brethren of Jesus" in quotation as from the Gospels, but without warrant. None of this has been forgotten, and surely Mr. Kampmeier must recall that I have discussed the words ascribed to Jesus about "my brethren." But it still remains true that "the brethren of Jesus" is *not a New Testament phrase*. If such a form of speech were found embedded in the oldest strata of the New Testament, it *might* point back to some primitive conception concerning the Jesus; but no such form is found, and the phrases "my," "thy," "his brethren," though certainly used by the Evangelists about the Jesus, and equivalent in their designation, are not nearly equivalent, in fact have no force at all, in evidencing an early idea concerning Jesus himself. *They are all late inventions of the editors of the Gospels.*

For consider the passages singly and collectively. Here is the census:

"My brethren"—Matt. xii. 48-50; xxviii. 10; Mark iii. 33-35; Luke viii. 21; John xx. 17.

"Thy brethren"—Matt. xii. 47; Mark iii. 32; Luke viii. 20.

"His brethren"—Matt. xii. 46; xiii. 55; Mark iii. 31; Luke viii. 19; John ii. 12; vii. 3, 5, 10; Acts i. 14.

To these we may add:

"Mother of Jesus"—Matt. i. 18; ii. 11, 13, 14, 20, 21; xii. 46-50; xiii. 55; Mark iii. 31-35; Luke i. 43; ii. 33, 34, 48, 51; viii. 19-21; John ii. 1, 3, 5, 12; vi. 42; xix. 25, 26; Acts i. 14.

"Sisters," my, thy, his, etc.—Matt. xii. 50; xiii. 56; Mark iii. 32, 35; vi. 3; John xix. 25.

The Pauline passages, 1 Cor. ix. 5, Gal. i. 19, have been sufficiently considered.

Now as to Matt. xxviii. 10, John xx. 17, there is no doubt; no one denies that the reference is to the disciples. Here at least is something sure and certain, and withal highly important.

The other references fall readily into groups. In Matt. i and ii, there are six mentions of his "mother," in Luke i and ii there are five. These eleven may all be dismissed at once; they argue not for but against the historicity; for these four chapters are obviously and admittedly late accessions to the Gospels, merely preparing the way for the extravagances of the Gospels of the Infancy, with no claim to authenticity, but extremely valuable only as showing the direction and tendency of the literary development, which was firmly set towards purely imaginative biography.

The like may be said of the passages in John. They are all

late, with no place in the earlier synoptic Gospels, with no reasonable pretension to historic character, but are part and parcel of John's striving for vivid dramatic depiction, and are just as authentic as the "sign" at Cana, at the pool of Beth Hesda, and at the tomb of Lazarus. This is clearly seen in xix. 25, 26, where John assembles three Marys at the foot of the Cross; his mother Mary, his mother's sister Mary, wife of Clopas, and Mary Magdalene. We may be sure that the Magdalene is only the symbol of pagandom saved from the seven demons of idolatry, and the reader may be left to estimate the likelihood that his mother Mary would have a sister Mary.

Similarly as to the reference in Acts i. 14. The whole chapter is notoriously late, and the verse serves only to illustrate the conspicuous fact that "his mother" and "his brethren" are especial favorites of fancy in the third and following generations.

Next comes the celebrated passage Mark iii. 33-35, with its parallels, Matt. xii. 48-50, Luke viii. 19-21, the essence of which is that "his brethren" "stand without" and wish to speak with him, but he looks round on his *disciples* and says, "Behold my mother and my brethren!" It seems strange that any historicist should call this passage to witness, for it seems especially designed to guard against any such false material interpretations of the phrase in question. "Mother and brethren" are plainly the Jewish polity and people, who "stand without" (from that day to this) and decline to enter into the kingdom. In at least six other New Testament verses this term "without" is used in the same technical sense to denote those *not* in the new religious society (Mark iv. 11; Luke xiii. 25; 1 Cor. v. 12, 13; Col. iv. 5; 1 Thess. iv. 12; also Rev. xxii. 15). Since the Jesus-cult was largely Jewish in origin and spirit, it was perfectly natural to speak of the Jewish church and people as "his mother" and "his brethren"; this usage, however, the passage is intended to correct and to spiritualize.

We have said enough of the so-called "pre-histories" in the first two chapters of Matthew and of Luke. For these pious imaginations (innocent and even beautiful enough, when properly understood) their authors would be the last to claim any standing before the bar of criticism. Mutually contradictory and exclusive, they form no part of the earlier Gospels to which (in revision) they have been prefixed. We can not then have the least interest in any inferences whether correct or incorrect from the terms "first-born," "first-begotten," found therein. Moreover, these are old and highly respectable gnostic and theosophic epithets of the Logos or other primal emanation of the Deity, and had originally no more reference

to any man of Nazareth than the adjective Theodore (God-given) had to Mr. Roosevelt.

On the fragments of extra-canonical gospels surely Mr. Kampmeier can not mean to lay any stress. The one from that According to Hebrews, "Behold, etc.," in a thoroughly symbolic connection ("When Jesus was baptized, a fire was seen above the water"), seems evidently a pious fiction to explain or vivify the synoptic account of the baptism. Though this gospel may have contained much old material, as does Matthew, yet this particular passage is no more original than the many universally recognized late accessions to our First Gospel. Similar remarks apply to the fragment from the Ebionitic gospel: it is merely a brief form of the Mark-Matthew statement to be discussed presently. But when Mr. Kampmeier thinks that the evidence from "these apocryphal gospels becomes stronger when we remember that their readers, Jewish Christians, rejected the miraculous birth of Jesus and considered him the son of Joseph and Mary," at least one of his readers must fail to follow his reasoning; such facts would seem to point directly the other way. As to the general leaning of this Gospel of Hebrews itself, any conclusions based on such meager remains of its 2200 lines might appear to be dubious: however, there is one passage that seems plain and explicit: "Even now my mother the Holy Spirit took me by one of my hairs and bore me up unto the great Mount Tabor." Here "his mother" is unequivocally declared to be the Holy Spirit (Hebrew words for *spirit*, *soul* are feminine or only rarely masculine), and the speaker Jesus is represented not as a human but as a divine being. Here also we seem to discover the germ of the whole story of his being cast out into the wilderness by the Spirit and being tempted by the devil.

The story quoted by Eusebius (in the 4th century) as from Hegesippus (in the latter half of the 2d century) appears scarcely worthy of notice. Mr. Kampmeier himself does not seem to credit it, and the dates are quite enough to deprive it of any weight. To descend below the middle of the second century for witnesses to alleged events at the beginning of the first, is far worse than to hunt for spring violets amid the frosts of November.

Thus far, then, the testimony adduced by Mr. Kampmeier, at the first touch and breath of analysis, has

"Slipt into ashes and is found no more."

There remains, however, one passage, the only one that ever deserved any notice (Mark vi. 1-6; Matt. xiii. 54, 58; Luke iv. 16-30), the

ostensible record of a rejection at Nazareth, and this it is a pleasure to consider carefully.

First, then, let us suppose there was nothing in the passage itself to determine whether the account was primitive, the incident historic, or the account late, the incident invented. What then would be the evidential or logical bearing on this instance of the various other instances already examined? This question is important. Suppose here is a bag containing balls, either black or white, it is not known which nor how many of each. Before the first ball is drawn out, a bystander would say the chances were even. If the first ball happens to be black, he will still think the chances nearly equal. But if the second and third come out also black, he will begin to bet on the black, giving heavier odds as the number of blacks increases. His judgment is instinctive, following the line of least resistance; he could not justify himself logically without invoking the calculus of probabilities. This would tell him that after b black and w white balls have been drawn and laid aside, the chances that the next ball will be black or white are $(b+1)/(b+w+2)$ and $(w+1)/(b+w+2)$ respectively. So that if there have been no whites, the chance of a black is $(b+1)/(b+2)$ and of a white only $1/(b+2)$; the odds in favor of the next ball being black are $b+1$ to 1, and plainly increase as b increases.

Let us apply this common sense (for mathematics is only common sense etherealized) to the case in hand. There are many passages that ascribe kinsfolk to Jesus. Are they early, or late? primary or secondary? We examine a large number and find that they all bear unmistakable marks of being late, many of them even very late. Not one gives any token of being original or primitive. Now comes still another. Before any examination, what is the antecedent probability? The answer is already given. If there are 19 such passages already considered, then the chances are 20 to 1 that the new is of the same kind, that it also is late and invented; and every additional instance of such late passages merely strengthens the probability that all are late.

It has seemed good to dwell on this instance as typical of many. In studying the New Testament we frequently meet with some class of facts, some of which imperatively demand a certain kind of interpretation, while others may apparently be interpreted either that way or some widely different way. It now appears that we are by no means logically free to choose which interpretation we please in these latter cases. The antecedent probability greatly favors the one proved form of interpretation as against the other merely prob-

lematic form. Moreover, we are morally bound to go with this prevailing likelihood and interpret the others as we have already been constrained to interpret some, unless we are *compelled* to change the mode of interpretation. Such is the exact mathematical meaning and value of Occam's Razor: *Entia non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem*.

Hence in approaching the passage we find the scale already heavily weighted with probability against Mr. Kampmeier's interpretation. It will require very grave considerations to bring the beam back even to a level. Are there any such? So far as can be seen, there are none whatever. What one touch of nature can you detect in any of these verses to suggest that here we are dealing with undoctored history? Is it the omission of father in the mention of the kinsfolk? Volkmar indeed infers hence that Mary was a widow, but the omission is easily understood from purely dogmatic considerations: the writer had the virginal birth in mind and was not disposed to harm the young dogma. Is it the names of the brethren? But they are merely the commonest Jewish names, as if one should say the brothers of Jim were Tom, Dick and Harry. As such they lay obvious to any fabulist. Confidently, then, one may affirm there is nothing in the text that calls for a literal historical construction. On the contrary, there is much that wars against it and favors a figurative exposition:

1. The word "fatherland" (*πατρίδα*) is very suspicious. Why did not the writer say city, village, or Nazareth, if such was his meaning? The word is emphatic in this incident, occurring seven times, but elsewhere not in the Gospels, only in Acts xviii. 27, Heb. xi. 14.¹ Remember, too, that according to the literal construction Jesus had been scarcely a half-day's journey away from Nazareth, he had been wandering round among the neighboring towns, along the lake shores of Galilee. If a man should go to visit districts less than 40 miles away, his return would hardly be spoken of anywhere at any time as "coming into his fatherland."

2. The temper of his fellow-citizens seems strange and unnatural. They reject him for no better reason than that they know him and his family! How unlikely! And because he is a carpenter (or carpenter's son)! This is almost incredible. In that age and clime the clefts did not yawn between the classes of society as in the Occident now. That a man was a carpenter formed no reason

¹The case is indeed much stronger. In Acts *πατρίδα* is no longer read, but "Achaia" instead, while in Hebrews the reference is to the "better" fatherland, the spiritual, the "heavenly."

why he should not be a prophet. The greatest of prophets, the greatest of kings, had been called from the humblest stations in life. A man did not need a Ph. D., nor a D. D., nor even a modest A. B., to commend him as teacher or leader. "His art is true who of his nature hath knowledge," thought Pindar, and undoubtedly so thought the Galileans. The objection of the people seems highly inapposite and improbable.

3. But how about the famous proverb, that a prophet is not without honor, etc.? As a matter of fact, it is the exact reverse of the truth. Certainly there is enough and to spare of envy and jealousy among our neighbors, yet history attests unequivocally that it is precisely among these neighbors that reformers and prophets have found their first, their warmest, their most faithful adherents. Witness Mohammed, Luther, Savonarola, Lazzaretti, and whom you will. Even in political conventions it is accounted strange and fatal if the home-delegation does not support the "favorite son" first, last, and all the time. One may affirm, then, with little fear of gainsaying, that any such man as the supposed "historic Jesus" would have found his most ready and ardent followers precisely among his fellows of Nazareth. The arrant swindler may indeed be discovered at home and may wisely cry,

"To-morrow to fresh woods and pastures new,"

but the pure and sterling character does not have to run away to find recognition. The proverb becomes intelligible only when referred to the rejection of the Jesus-cult by the Jews and its acceptance by the Gentiles.

4. The anhistoricity of the incident and of the saying comes clearly into light on comparing the Mark-Matthean with the Lucan account (Luke iv. 16-30). It is vain to imagine (with the harmonists) two essays and two rejections at Nazareth, equally vain to attempt a reconciliation of the two recitals. The truth is that Luke has treated his material with perfect freedom, justly feeling that it was no question of historic fact but of edifying doctrine, and has produced a picture in which the Mark-Matthean original is unmistakable and yet transformed beyond possible identification. Notice, too, the strange phrase with which he closes his recasting: The citizens, enraged about practically nothing, cast him (the Jesus) out of the city and lead him to the brow of the mount on which their city is built, in order to hurl him down headlong; "but he, traversing through the midst of them, marched on!" Is it not clear that this is *not history*? Does not any open eye see that the people having

“led him up to the brow of the mount” would not let him escape? that the “traversing through the midst of them” is not intelligible as the deed of a man but only as the deed of a God? If this account were found in a “Sacred Book of the East,” or in fact anywhere but in the New Testament, would the judgment of the critic falter? Remember too that the same queer word “traverse” is used in Acts x. 38 to describe the activity of the Jesus, and that it is the pet term of Basilides to denote the outward earthward process of the Jesus (or Sonship) through the enveloping aeons, and consider the discussion in *Ecce Deus* (pp. 85-87). Furthermore, if Luke had felt that he was dealing with a bit of sacred history, it seems hardly possible that he would have allowed himself such unheard-of liberties.

5. Lastly, consider the term *carpenter*. Perhaps some one may think to detect herein a trace of local color, an unobtrusive detail, manifestly historical! So must he think who speaks of “the naive recitals of Mark.” But let such a one recall that the word is wanting in the Sinaitic Syriac in Matthew xiii. 55—in the same oldest manuscript alas! the leaf is lost that contained Mark v. 26-vi. 5, but the absence of the word from Matthew shows clearly enough that it was an addition, an afterthought. Moreover, the Aramaic *nesar* means “to saw,” and the cognate participle or noun would mean “carpenter.” Indeed, according to Buhl, Halévy explains Nazareth as a city named from its inhabitants, “of carpenters” (*n'sereth*). We need not accept this explanation to perceive that there is a close connection in sound between the Semitic terms. The stems differ only almost imperceptibly in the middle sibilant, *n-s-r* and *n-s-r*. In the ordinary Syriac the term both in Mark vi. 3 and Matt. xiii. 55 is *nagara*, as also in the Sinaitic at Matt. xiii. 55 (which also means artist and savant). The stems differ only in the middle consonant and it may very well be that the *n-s-r* was used in the original and afterwards changed to *n-g-r*. In any case, there seems to be here nothing but a play on words, on the similarity of sound in *nagar* or *nasar* (carpenter) and *našar* (as in Nazaree, Nazareth); much as if one should say of a Parisian, Is not he a parasite (Parisite)? Such puns were favorites with the Semites, even in solemn discourse. So, in Amos viii. 1, 2, we read: “Thus the Lord Jahveh showed me and lo! a basket of figs (*kayiz*). And he said, What seest thou, Amos? And I said, A basket of figs (*kayiz*). Then said Jahveh unto me, Come is the end (*kez*) upon my people Israel.” Here the whole point lies in the play upon the words *kayiz* (figs) and *kez* (end)—as if it were in English: “What seest thou? And I said, A basket of clothes. Then Jehovah said unto me, Come is

the close to my people Israel."—Now such punning is very easy to understand as an act of reflection, as the ingenuity of some third party, but it is very hard to understand as proceeding from the citizens of Nazareth.

It is unnecessary to carry this analysis further. It must now be plain that not only is there no special reason for regarding the fatherland incident as historic, but there is a noteworthy combination of marks that indicate the contrary—so many and such various indications that our judgment can no longer hesitate. A conservative calculation would show that there is surely not one chance in a hundred, not to say a thousand, that the incident is to be taken in a literal or historic sense. It appears to be only a variation on the familiar theme of the rejection of the Jesus-cult by the Jews, among whom it originated and should have found (one might have supposed) its most devoted adherents. Concerning the incident of the alleged attempted arrest of Jesus by his kinsmen, sufficient has been said in *Ecce Deus* (pp. 190-192).

Herewith then the case seems closed against the kinsmen of Jesus, understood as blood-relations. Undoubtedly very many able and learned men will long continue to reject these conclusions, but the rejection will rest on sentimental rather than on logical bases. Similarly even such a scholar as Burkitt now comes valiantly forward to rescue the authenticity of the Josephine testimony (Ant. 18, 3, 3)! The real significance of such daring adventures lies not at all in themselves, but in their clear testimony to the necessity felt by the critics, of maintaining the traditional lines of defense even at these admittedly indefensible points, lest surrender here should ultimately entail surrender everywhere else. It was this feeling that so enraged the lamb-like Weinel at any even the most unavoidable concessions to *Der vorchristliche Jesus* and betrayed him into the excesses that saner German theologians now publicly regret.

* * *

A theory is tested by its ability to set in order and render intelligible large bodies of facts otherwise hard or impossible to understand and to systematize. In proportion as they are numerous, and especially in proportion as they are various and widely separated, the theory is valuable and the probability of its correctness is high. When there remain no facts within its range that it does not thus ordinate and make comprehensible, the theory may be called at least virtually true; we have no means to distinguish it from a theory really true.

It is by this test that the symbolic theory of Gospel interpretation must be proved, that it has actually been tried in *Ecce Deus*. The literary-historical facts of the New Testament and of early Christianity are immensely numerous. It is seen at once that this theory explains with perfect and surprising clearness large classes of these facts, and every additional explanation is an additional corroboration of the theory. This is not the place for any extended exhibit of such details, but it may be well to give one further illustration of the explanatory power of the new view, an illustration that might have been used in the *Ecce Deus* had its great significance been more distinctly recognized.¹

In Revelation (xiv. 6, 7) an angel flying in midheaven proclaims with mighty voice unto all the inhabitants of earth, and to every nation and tribe and tongue and people, an Eternal Gospel: "Fear God and give Him glory. . . . and worship Him that made heaven and earth." A child must see that this is monotheism pure and simple, nothing more and nothing less. "The hour of judgment" (crisis) that is come is merely the hour of the final overthrow of all forms of idolatry and of the establishment of the universal worship of the One true God. "And another, a second angel followed, saying to them with mighty voice, Fallen, fallen is Babylon the Great, who hath drenched all the nations with the wrath-wine of her fornication" (xiv. 8). This last word must refer either literally to sexual immorality or figuratively to idolatry. The first is nonsense. No matter what "Babylon" may be, it is absurd to suppose that sexual irregularity was *the* sin of the old world and that the seer in a vision intensely religious denounces Babylon's destruction for this one vice. It must be then that the word means idolatry, false worship of false gods, as so frequently, even prevailing in the Old Testament (as is proved in *Ecce Deus*), and as alone comports with

¹ It is encouraging to note that the necessity both of a thoroughgoing symbolic interpretation of the Gospels, synoptic as well as Johannine, and of understanding Protochristianity as an aggressive monotheism is now conceded explicitly and in terms by the most representative and authoritative theological journals in Germany. Witness such pronouncements as the following:

"Above all, however, it is the demonstration of the originally esoteric character of Christianity and of the consequent demand for a much more comprehensive symbolic explanation of the Gospels, in which the permanent importance of Smith's great work lies."—*Theologischer Jahresbericht*, 1912, pp. 339-341.

"This symbolic interpretation of the Gospels serves Smith to demonstrate his view of the essence of Protochristianity: that it was a protest against idolatry, a crusade for monotheism. This is in the first place demonstrated from 'the general movement of thought in the apologists'—beyond doubt correctly."—*Theologische Literaturzeitung*, August 31, 1912, cols. 553-555.

But when these two focal contentions of *Ecce Deus* are conceded, what is there left that is worth fighting for?

the first angel's proclamation of the Eternal Gospel of monotheism. Hereby, then, "Babylon" is determined in meaning. It is not Rome nor Romanism. Neither could be said to have drenched all the nations with the wrath-wine of idol-worship. Babylon must mean polytheism, the whole system of pagan religion, against which and which alone the insurrection of Protochristianity was sharply pointed. The "crisis" proclaimed by the first angel, the Eternal Gospel of monotheism, must involve the utter ruin of this Babylon of polytheism, hence the second angel is a logical necessity.

In the seventeenth chapter we read much about this same Babylon, figured as a woman richly arrayed and on her forehead her name written, declaring her to be the mother of harlots and of the abominations of the earth, while she herself sits upon many waters, the many peoples of the earth. All of this fits perfectly with the interpretation just given, and with no other interpretation of this "mystery." It is true that in xvii. 18 "the woman" is said to be "the great city that hath kingship over the kings of the earth." But this verse sits very loose in its context, fastened neither before nor after, and has all the appearance of an insertion. In any case, "the great city" need not mean Rome but may very naturally denote the whole religious polity dominating the pagan world.

Of course, this interpretation will not please such as think that by "city" the seer must mean a mass of brick and mortar, an assemblage of lamp-posts and cobble-stones, and forget that Augustine wrote of the City of God, and Coulanges of the ancient religion under the title of "The Ancient City," and that the seer himself speaks of the new order of things as the new Jerusalem; they fancy that the seven mountains on which the woman sitteth are the seven hills of Rome! though the seer himself says "they are seven kings," that is, the whole government polity of the earth. Our exegesis will satisfy none such, neither Catholic nor Protestant, neither liberal nor conservative, not even Gunkel and Zimmern and Jensen, who see in all this powerful yet grotesque imagery a recrudescence of the elemental strife of primal Time, as it raged in the imagination of Mesopotamia. And it may very well be that the drapery of thought was in large measure an heirloom from those distant days and regions. What of it? The modern poet frames his ideas in the far-descended speech of Homer and Isaiah, but they are none the less born of to-day and related to present conditions. It makes no difference how far the Apocalyptist may have reached his hand into the dark backward and abysm of time to pluck thence his phrases and figures; his thought was the thought of his age, and his vision

was filled with the religious and spiritual conditions and tendencies of the early Roman Empire. Very likely he conceived of Rome as the highest expression of polytheism; very likely he conceived of the Jews as pre-eminently the people of God, and the representatives of monotheism; but none of this wars against the obvious fact that his tremendous fancies body forth the overthrow of idolatry and the world-wide establishment of the true worship of the true God.

Neither need we be surprised at occasional or even frequent contradictions; for the visions of such seers, or even of one such seer, would scarcely be self-consistent, and the book itself has undergone both compilation and revision. Indeed, the whole exposition in xvii. 7-18 reads like a rather feeble interpolation.

Minute interpretation of the details of these visions may very well be and remain impossible or at least uncertain. Perhaps the authors themselves attached no definite meaning to many of their images, but used them merely rhetorically, to amplify and vivify descriptions. But of the general idea, and of the significance of the great central figure of Babylon, the woman that sitteth upon seven mounts and many waters, the mother of idolatries and abominations of the earth, there can no longer remain any reasonable doubt: She is the polytheism of the Roman Empire, against which the primitive Christian crusade was so directly aimed.

COMMENTS BY MR. KAMPMEIER.

Dr. Smith has taken so much space with his rhetorical slashes against my "midsummer night's dreams," as he terms my article, with side-thrusts against Burkitt, whose belief in the Josephus passage on Christ I do not share, and against "sentimental bases" (example given "the lamblike Weinel"), while I am devoid of all sentimentalism and a dry logician in the debated question, that I cannot claim much space for comments of my own, especially since he has a long addendum on matter in no connection with the discussed point. I would wish my opponent would restrain himself a little more and follow my example and not jump over to so many other things which have nothing to do with discussed points. But since he has dragged in so much other matter, I will also try to answer that as shortly as I can.

1. I am glad that Dr. Smith admits "that reference is certainly made to Jesus," when speaking of "his brothers" in the Gospel passages I cited. So I was right when saying the Gospels speak of the brothers of Jesus. Of course my opponent means the brothers

of his assumed God "Jesus" and I the brothers of the man Jesus. But in the point of grammatical and logical construction we agree.

2. In regard to the word "without" (ἔξω) in the passage Mark iii. 33 etc. and parallels, the facts are these. Jesus goes with his disciples (verse 19) into a house. "And again a great crowd came together so that they could not even eat." Then comes the verse telling of the family of Jesus going out to get him (verse 21). Verse 31, after the discussion between the scribes and Jesus, takes up the thread again left in verse 21 and says: "Then came his brothers and mother and standing outside they sent to him [of course a messenger, mentioned in Matt. xii. 48] to call him." The phrase "standing outside" or "without" surely here means "outside the house." Dr. Smith will also admit this. Of course I mean a house in the common sense of the word; what kind of a house my opponent means, I do not know, perhaps some symbol or allegory.

Now comes a medley hard to understand. According to Dr. Smith the mother and brothers of Jesus outside of the house are the Jewish church and people. Jesus inside of the house is the Saviour-Protector God, assumed by my opponent, the God of monotheism, to be preached to the pagan world but already believed in by the Jewish church. At least so have we been taught since our childhood, that the Jews believed in one only God. Nevertheless according to Dr. Smith's view those outside the house are at the same time the mother and brothers of his assumed God and again not, while those inside *are* the brothers of that God. Perhaps I do not understand all this, because I have become so to say immune against the disease of allegorizing and symbolism, having tasted so much of that of the Jewish and Christian Church Fathers and Philo on the Old Testament, that this new inoculation-method of allegorizing the whole New Testament does not "take" with me. I prefer the historical-critical method of interpreting both the Old and New Testament and do not desire to go back to the allegorizing method practised by the Church Fathers.

3. Although the first two chapters of Matthew and Luke are mythical according to the style of antiquity which told the same story of the conception of Plato as of Jesus, and of Ariston's wife as of Joseph's while Plutarch (*Numa*, 4) like Luke believed that the spirit of a God can impregnate a woman, the writer of the first chapter of Matthew was not therefore compelled to write of Jesus that he was Mary's firstborn son if this had not been the case. He had good reasons for doing so. By the way, the end of the genealogy in Matthew in the Syrian translation of that Gospel discovered some

years ago by Mrs. Lewis reads: "Joseph, to whom Mary the virgin was betrothed, begat Jesus, called the Messiah."

4. That the Gospel of the Hebrews makes the Holy Spirit (feminine in Hebrew) the mother of Jesus I have mentioned in my article "Nazareth, Nazorean and Jesus," *Open Court*, May, 1910. But this means according to Semitic expression nothing more than that Jesus was a son of God spiritually only, not physically. Compare the Semitic-gnostic expression, "A son of the spirit." This is also Paul's view.

5. If the names of the brothers of Jesus in the Gospels are "merely the commonest Jewish names" (which no one disputes) was not the name "Jesus" just as common among the Jews, as "Tom, Dick and Harry," to use Dr. Smith's language? Josephus alone gives a whole row of Jesuses in his works. It is peculiar that the originators of the assumed Jesus-God made use of such a common name in order to spread a pure spiritual monotheism. It seems to me they could have made a better choice, if we meet such exalted ideas of God as in Aratus and Epimenides among the pagans, that Acts xvii does not refrain from citing them.

6. There is nothing suspicious whatever about the word *patris*, translated in the English version "fatherland." The word *patris* is also used in an adjectival way by Greek classical writers in such compositions as *patris ge*, *patris polis* as alone like *patra*. Nor would it be wrong, when speaking of any one's native town, for instance Chicago, to say: "Chicago is his home." The same applies to the German *Heimat*. It does not necessarily imply the whole native country. It can as well refer only to one's native town.

7. It is new to me that the townsmen of Jesus rejected him simply because he was a carpenter and because they knew his family. —As to reformers not finding any hearing with their nearest relatives, I will only mention Mohammed, whom his uncle Abu Lahab called a fool, while his adoptive father, Abu Talib, though he never ceased to protect him for the honor of his family, never professed any belief in Mohammed's words. Also other relatives scorned him. And why did he leave Mecca?

8. No one has yet disputed that Christianity opened a crusade against polytheism and idolatry in connection with its gospel of salvation. But if its only object was to spread monotheism and to destroy idolatry, why then did it not pursue a more straightforward path, without veiling this its only purpose in language so symbolical and allegorical, that no one could understand it? The Synoptics in their zeal to show that the non-acceptance of Jesus as the Messiah

by the Jewish people as a whole was due to a divine predestination, have very clumsily imputed to Jesus that he spoke many of his parables in such a way that they could not understand them, in order to be hardened. But if all that the whole New Testament teaches is nothing but symbolism, allegory, parable, veiling the purpose of spreading monotheism, this is a greater riddle still. I cannot comprehend how polytheism could ever have understood what the New Testament writers were driving at with their jargon.

9. Rev. xvii. 9 reads: "The seven heads (i.e., of the scarlet beast carrying the woman) are seven mountains, on which the woman sits." I fear no twistings of Dr. Smith will ever convince any unprejudiced critical student of the Apocalypse, that that book does not point to contemporary history, nor that other things in it must be spiritualized. When St. Augustine wrote his "City of God" the time had long passed when Jews and Jewish Christians believed realistically in a new Jerusalem coming bodily down from heaven. For proofs I can direct any one to strong realistic passages in rabbinical and other Jewish literature. Early Christianity was a strange mixture of spiritualism and realism. It would have been unnatural and unhistorical, had it been otherwise.

By declaring further whole passages interpolations in Revelation, Dr. Smith only follows his old convenient method of declaring everything interpolated in Biblical and profane writers which does not suit his theory.

THE TREATMENT OF SPIES.

BY THE EDITOR.

CHRISTMAS is the feast of general rejoicing, and so a year ago even in the grim old citadel of the Silesian fortress of Glatz the Prussian officers and sentinels were dreaming of the family circles at home where children were eagerly awaiting their father's return from duty, while one of the prisoners, M. Lux, a French spy, the gallant captain of a French artillery regiment, proposed to elude the watchfulness of his jailers, and with the cleverness of an adroit burglar actually succeeded in making his escape. He had prepared his flight by filing his bars during unobserved hours in previous days and in the darkness of night leapt down into the court, slipped quietly along the gloomy walks of the citadel, climbed the outer wall and jumped into the moat from which he could easily find his way into the open field. Before his absence could be detected, he had taken a night train from the nearest suburban station and reached unhindered the Austrian frontier, which is not very far from Glatz. On Austrian ground he was safe. He left the train and telegraphed for money. His friends responded promptly, and he continued his trip without molestation *via* Italy to France, where he joined his family and was jubilantly greeted by his comrades and friends.

The world outside of Germany naturally sympathized with the daring French officer. He had shown his ability in espionage by reporting observations especially of the German balloon service, and perhaps also in other fields. His enterprises might have been taken as a tribute to the superiority of German intelligence, for he confessed by his very deeds that the French could learn from the Germans; but the German authorities did not see his labors in this light, and when he escaped from Glatz they were greatly chagrined and decided to prevent the recurrence of such events.

Thus it came about that results of his gallant deeds proved

sad for one of his fellow prisoners, an English officer, also a spy, who had shared his room in the fortress of Glatz. This son of Albion had apparently known nothing of the plans of his friend, in fact he had been absent at the time of the Frenchman's escape, nevertheless he had to pay the penalty.

The German system of supervision is commonly, and perhaps rightly, supposed to be the most careful in the world. The reliability of German sentinels and the sense of duty of German soldiers is well known. Their discipline is unexcelled, and yet here a prisoner deemed extraordinarily dangerous found no difficulty in making his escape. Feeling that they had become the laughing-stock of the world just as a short time previously in the case of the famous Captain of Köpenick, they at once resorted to drastic measures in venting their wrath on other prisoners, and first of all on the poor British officer who like Captain Lux had been condemned to pass several years as a captive in a fortress.

So far it has been customary to consider espionage as a political offense which does not involve any dishonesty. On the contrary it has always been considered as a patriotic service in the interest of the spy's own country. It is true the spy takes his chances, and in times of war he may be shot, but such is the case with every soldier in battle, and there is no disgrace in sacrificing one's life for one's country.

This view prevails commonly among all civilized nations and corresponds to the natural feelings of mankind, but the Prussian government changed it at once in the moment of its chagrin. The British officer was degraded, clothed in the suit of a convict, and treated as a common criminal. This fate, hard though it was, was sharpened however by the attitude which the comrades of the British officer took. Seeing him degraded they expelled him from their ranks, for in their opinion a convict could no longer be treated as a brother officer. As soon as he had been clothed in the convict's dress, he was thereby deemed to be disgraced and could no longer be tolerated in the British army. This incredible attitude of British officers towards the shame put on a man by way of punishment, and not by any criminal act, made the British officer in prison so despondent that he attempted suicide. His life had become worthless to him since he was deemed to have lost his honor, and he had to be constantly watched by his jailers to prevent him from ending his own life.

Soon afterwards a German spy was caught in England, and it would have been quite natural if the English judges had retaliated,

and though they did not in that case, the result might have been—and possibly it will still come about—that all over the world spies will henceforth be treated as common criminals.

Some optimists who do not know human nature believe that this will stop espionage all over the world, and they think that it would be better if spies would discontinue their nefarious work, but this is not probable. The information concerning the progress of foreign armies will always be valuable to the ministry of war, and as in war time the death penalty does not frighten spies from risking their lives for their country, so this change of view will make no difference. The result will be that even if the comrades of the spy who has been caught will disown him, the people as a whole will glory in him as a hero who suffers for his country the infamy of degradation. After all the judges and jailers of these unfortunate people will be burdened in their consciences with the shame of having treated a gallant patriot, a man of extraordinary courage, as if he were a villainous wretch, and the old story will be repeated that the Saviour is crucified between thieves.

Now the question arises, How will governments protect themselves against spies? Since the military authorities of every country are naturally anxious to keep posted on the progress of their brothers in other countries they will be equally obliged to protect themselves against those errant knights whose services may become very dangerous. What would be the best to be done? Can they sufficiently protect themselves without becoming brutal and inhuman towards brave soldiers whose skill and bravery ought to be met but whose honor ought not to be touched, because their sense of honor may be, and commonly is, as high or even higher than that of their captors?

Germany's procedure in dealing with spies finds many sympathizers in military circles of different countries. A near and dear friend of the writer, a very able man and a good patriot who has become through his unusual talent a captain of industry, had served his country in his younger years by successfully extracting an important secret from a foreign expert in the manufacture of firearms, and yet he expressed himself in favor of shooting all spies, even if their espionage be committed in time of peace. He did not, however, look upon his own venture as the work of a spy. He did not use his eyes, he used his mind. He duped the enemy by appealing to the vanity of an inventor, and we do not doubt that if the story at the time had become known before this daring youth had passed the border to reach his own country again, he would have been con-

demned as a spy by court martial, and considering the work he did afterwards in the line of manufacture and invention, not only his own people but the whole world would have lost thereby.

It would be a pity to employ drastic measures to frighten spies to discontinue their work. On the other hand we can not tolerate espionage, though we may employ it ourselves. What shall we do? What would be fair and right?

Perhaps the best way to deal with spies would be that if they are caught in espionage they should be condemned by their judges to be tattooed on the face or forehead with the letter "S," which would do no harm to their person but would render them harmless wherever they made their appearance for the purpose of collecting military information. A man bearing the espionage tattoo would not be disgraced in the eyes of his compatriots; on the contrary the tattoo would serve as a distinction and a mark of honor, while to the sentinels of a foreign power it would indicate that they should keep an eye on him and not admit him where he can discover secrets of consequence.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE OLD MORALITY.

A Few Remarks on Mr. Ward's "New Morality."

BY THE EDITOR.

The Rev. F. W. Orde Ward, a retired rector of the Church of England and well known for his literary labors, contributes to this number an article on "The New Morality" which is a criticism of the changing ethical notions and makes a plea for the old standards. We sympathize with his efforts, for as our readers may be fully aware, though we advocate the most radical philosophy, we are conscious of being more conservative than many spokesmen of orthodox or other conservative parties. Like Mr. Orde Ward, we cannot accept the utilitarian principle in ethics and believe that though minor moral prescriptions may change there are ultimate principles which will always remain the same, and will be the same in any domain where life develops.

We further insist on the inseparable character of religion and morals; or, in other words, our moral convictions depend on our conception of the universe. If our conception of the universe changes, our morals will change with it. Thus Socrates is right when he insists on a search for general principles.

We do not agree with Mr. Orde Ward, however, when he decries the "sublime selfishness of Buddhism," and contrasts with it "the far higher and Christlike principle, the will to love." There have been noble souls in both Christianity and Buddhism, and there have been hypocrites also in all the religions of the world. Further we deny "that nothing personal can come from the impersonal," and also "that we cannot get out anything more than what is in it." The truth is that all artistic work consists in the ability to create something new which is at the same time something greater, better, more serviceable, and more beautiful. You may say that a beautiful picture originates in and presupposes the mind of the artist, but is not the artist himself the product of an evolution which did not contain his genius? The problem of consciousness is the same. The earth was void of life and yet life originated; the lower life was void of mentality and yet man originated. Primitive man is a savage and from out the conditions of savage life spring civilization and its leaders, and the divine heroes of thought and teachers of morality such as Lao-tze, Buddha, Christ.

There are many such particulars in which we would take issue with Mr. Orde Ward, but upon the whole we believe in a conservatism and have as much to criticize in our leaders of liberal thought. In fact we believe that the future development, philosophical as well as ethical, will come about by a combination of the two parties, the progressives and the liberals on the one

hand and the conservative, yea even orthodox on the other. Mr. Orde Ward belongs to the latter party and we welcome his contribution to our columns.

Mr. Orde Ward notices the rise of a new morality, and certainly new ideals concerning behavior and the interrelations of men are dawning upon mankind. In certain ways our moral notions are becoming stricter; in other respects they are broadening and becoming more lenient. Our sense of responsibility is decidedly more keen and more delicate than ever before while our sympathy with human failings of all kinds, a tendency to excuse, without for that reason to palliate, is increasing. And yet it is a great mistake to say that we are entering upon an absolutely new period of moral conceptions. A close investigation will show that ultimately our fundamental notions remain the same and will as ever be based upon our notions of truth, justice and honesty. The most radical changes which are taking place are due to a change in world-conception. The old dualistic ethics of asceticism with its negative virtues is gradually giving way to a positive morality of active virtues according to which it is not the one who fulfils the several commandments, Thou shalt not, that is to be praised, but he most nearly attains the ideal who best accomplishes the great tasks of life.

Thus the new morality is practically the old and will be recognized as such, yea, it is the very same morality which was recognized in ancient Greece. It is *virtue*, i. e., manhood and humaneness. They have not lost by having been tempered during the Christian period of mankind by the Christian virtues of restraint, self-control and abstinence.

RACE PREJUDICE.

In a brief note in the July number we cited the widespread unity of Islam extending its sympathy to the struggling brethren in Africa from every quarter of the globe. The Tokyo *Islamic Fraternity*, although it purports to be "An organ devoted to promoting fraternal feeling among the followers of Islam and those of other sister religions," apparently thinks Christianity does not deserve to be among the number of these "sister religions," at least at present. A recent number contains an editorial entitled "Christian Combination Against Islam." Germany is made an exception to the "Combination," and the author lays it to England's mortal dread of Germany that she "invited France into Morocco, Italy into Tripoli and Russia into Persia."

It may sometimes be well to see ourselves as others see us, and we quote the concluding paragraphs of this same article.

"It is a curious thing that the Christian humanitarian sentiments come to the fore only when Christians happen to suffer—nay sometimes even when they do not suffer, but they are reported to have suffered with the object of ruining the good name of a Muslim government. But when the Muslims become victims of injustice, tyranny and cruelty, the Christian sympathy is not aroused. Think of the silence of the European press and public opinion over the terrible deeds perpetrated by France in Morocco, by Italy in Tripoli, and by Russia at Tabriz, Resht and Meshhed, and then, of their making the welkin ring with the imaginary Turkish atrocities in Albania and Macedonia! Knowing full well that the Young Turks were doing what lies in their power to remove all causes of complaint, in spite of unusual difficulties that they were meeting in the way of reforms, and in spite of the war in Tripoli, the

foremost men of Great Britain presented a memorial to his Imperial Majesty the Sultan, and to the presidents of both the Chambers of the Ottoman Parliament on the grievances of the subject races of Turkey. That wonderful document is as follows: "The historic sympathy of the English people with the Ottoman empire in the past was alienated by the like evils, and the English people were convinced that no amelioration in the lot of the Turkish subject peoples lay in any other direction than in the gradual disintegration of the Ottoman empire. The repetition of these evils will, unless arrested, alienate once again, and we fear irrevocably, the sympathy which the Turkish Revolution had awakened amongst us. . . . We speak in no spirit of self-righteousness; we had hoped that Turkey's great example would serve not only to ameliorate the lot of her own people, but to fortify the ideals of ours: She may save herself by her exertions, and oriental civilization by her example. She has yet a unique opportunity of convincing the West that Orientals have been unjustly believed incapable of constitutional government. Sadly must we confess, however, that this belief will be confirmed if the great experiment of Turkish constitutionalism should fail."

"Never before was a document forged with greater disregard of truth and of international courtesy! We are, however, of opinion that spiritual agencies are at work to prepare the East to come to its own heritage, and that the West will have yet many disappointments in store for believing to the contrary."

For further self-examination of our Occidental complacency we quote from the *Japan Advertiser* the following comments from their point of view of our boasted Christian progress:

"While Buckle was writing his *History of Civilization* the Crimean War was raging and people's minds were much disturbed by the horrible reports spread abroad. Buckle apologized for the war by saying that civilized countries were defending themselves against the aggression of a half-civilized country, but that it was a cause for rejoicing that there would be no more wars between civilized countries. These words had scarcely been uttered when war broke out between civilized France and Austria-Hungary and Lombardy was snatched from the latter. Then followed in quick succession the Prusso-Austrian attack on Denmark with the loss of Schleswig-Holstein to the latter. Later came the Franco-Prussian, Spanish-American, and South African Wars, all of which were waged by civilized countries.

"Moreover, in the latter part of the nineteenth century there was a revival of the old greed for annexing colonies. This aggression of the civilized countries was on such a stupendous scale that it left the half-civilized and barbarous countries at the mercy of the aggressors.

"Since 1860 the white race has added 10,000,000 square miles to its possession, with a population of no less than 130,000,000. If the outcome of the Turco-Italian war results in an Italian victory, then another million of population with 400,000 square miles of territory will have fallen into the hands of the white race. This being the case who can justly say the yellow race is aggressive? Is not the white race itself the aggressor?"

"When aggression has for its object the development of a country and the advancement of the happiness of its people it is not to be condemned. Rather is it to be praised. Has this spirit guided the nations in their aggression? Historians declare that Spain in fifty years, while she was subjugating America, massacred at least 10,000,000 natives and that in Mexico alone 4,000,000 per-

ished. The conquest of other colonies in every part of the world is only a repetition of this procedure. A common custom of colonizers has been to furnish one tribe of natives with firearms and set them upon another until both are destroyed one by the other. In this way the Maoris of New Zealand have become almost extinct. In the 70's the English drove 200,000 Kaffirs from their homes and seized their lands and property. This is not all. When the officials representing Leopold II, impose taxes on the natives of Congo and they fail to pay, they are punished by having their hands and feet dismembered. Is it not a well-known fact that the Americans, who advocate the principle of equality, lynch the uneducated negroes who commit crimes? According to the census of 1909 forty per cent of the population of the twelve Southern States were negroes. The sum of \$32,000,000 was appropriated for primary school education, but only \$4,000,000 went to negro schools,—that is, only 12½ per cent of the total.

"If you wish to know how the nations of India are faring under English rule you would do well to read the labor leader Keir Hardie's confession. No one, on reading this, can suppress his indignation at the cruelty of the English. The same practices are common wherever the white man rules subject races.

"The subject races are not the only sufferers at the hands of the white man. Independent races who are highly civilized are sufferers. South Africa, Australia, and Canada possess unbounded, undeveloped wealth. The progress of agriculture in Canada during the last fifty years has been marvelous. Now only 20,000,000 acres are under cultivation, while it is estimated that the north-west alone could produce 1,600,000,000 bushels of wheat. These several colonies are doing all in their power to induce settlers to come to their shores, but the increase of population at home is not rapid and they cannot accomplish their wish. In many places they live lonely lives, and are confronted by wild beasts. Not only do they refuse a landing to the yellow races but will not allow them to fish on their shores. They had better themselves practise equal opportunity before urging it upon us.

"We are a peace loving people but can we be expected to endure these indignities long? If the white races do not lie when they say they love peace, let them return what ought to be returned to their brother and welcome with a handshake to the places where welcome should be extended those worthy of welcome. Failing to do this is equivalent to telling us we must be content with occupying a lower place than they. Who will lend an ear to such selfish peace-reasoning? What virtue is there in being white? How can it be called a crime to be colored? All his peace-reasoning is as 'sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal' unless the white man can divest himself of the race prejudice."

A PASCAL BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Albert Maire, the librarian of the Sorbonne, has published a complete bibliography of the scientific labors of Blaise Pascal (*L'œuvre scientifique de Blaise Pascal*), including also a bibliography of his works, which will be helpful to all who take an interest in this most prominent mathematician. The book is prefaced by Pierre Duhem, professor at the University of Bordeaux, and published by the Librairie Scientifique A. Hermann, 6 rue de la Sorbonne, 1912. It contains as frontispiece a most interesting portrait of Pascal, drawn in red chalk by Domat on the cover of a book in his library, and again reproduced as the frontispiece of this number of *The Open Court*.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

CHANGING AMERICA: STUDIES IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY. By *Edward Alsworth Ross*. New York: Century Company, 1912. Pp. 236. Price \$1.20.

Prof. Edward A. Ross, of the University of Wisconsin, after writing of *The Changing Chinese*, now publishes a book about *Changing America*, in which he treats the subject in eleven chapters, most of which are intensely interesting and well written. The first one is an "Outlook for Plain Folk," a general survey on the democratic trend of to-day, the help from science and art, the promise of more leisure, etc. After the second chapter, entitled "The World-Wide Advance of Democracy," Professor Ross devotes two chapters to the falling birth rate and the increase of divorce. He looks upon the theory of Malthus as still unrefuted and does not see in the restriction of the birth rate a bad sign either of morality or of general social conditions. On the contrary he finds one of its causes in the higher appreciation of women, citing here, not without some severity, the words of Luther: "If a woman becomes weary or at last dead from bearing, that matters not; let her then die from bearing, she is there to do it." The increased tendency towards divorce is not necessarily a sure proof of moral decay, and our author thinks that the statistics are misrepresented and their significance distorted, that in fact the number of divorce cases is greatly exaggerated by sensationalism. The fifth chapter is devoted to wage-earning women, and in this he calls attention to the damage done to homes and children. In "Commercialism Rampant" the ruthless exploitation commonly employed is criticized and some remedies offered. As to the press, Professor Ross criticizes less the sensational tone of the newspaper than the suppression of important news. The editor-owner has become supplanted by the capitalist-owner, which changes the newspaper into a protector of what in a newspaper office has been humorously called "The Sacred Cows," the business interests of the newspaper owner. According to our author the hope of the country lies in the masculinity of the Middle West (discussed in the remaining four chapters).

κ

HERDER ALS FAUST. Von *Günther Jacoby*. Leipsic: Felix Meiner, 1911. Pp. 485. Price 7 marks.

The author, formerly lecturer in philosophy at the University of Greifswald, and at present traveling in this country, proposes in this voluminous work the thesis that Herder is the prototype of Goethe's "Faust," and in his exposition he claims that Herder's influence on Goethe was even more extensive than it appears in "Faust."

In going over the several chapters of this interesting book, the reader is surprised to find a great many parallels with the world-conception of Faust, and that his opinions have been uttered with great definiteness by Herder. We can not doubt that the friendship with Herder greatly enlarged Goethe's views, and Herder's way of thinking is obviously echoed in Faust's several utterances—his views of science, of the narrowness of conventional education which ruins the student's originality, and above all also in Faust's so-called "confession of faith." Here are the same words, the same terms used as they appear in Herder's writings. It is also noteworthy that Goethe's friendship with Herder falls at the time in which he wrote the first part of Faust.

Dr. Jacoby's work deserves a careful consideration and study even though we may not quite agree with him that Herder was indeed the prototype of Faust, on account of the difference in the two characters, and this is after all more important than all the several coincidences.

In his Introduction Dr. Jacoby says: "That it so happened that Goethe could represent Herder's experiences more beautifully and profoundly than Herder himself is strange enough, but is sufficiently explained to him who knows how powerfully the figure of Herder affected Goethe's inmost soul at the time of the conception of Faust, and how Goethe strove to imitate and transform the nature of Herder in himself exactly at the time when he was contemplating the composition of "Faust." Goethe has so represented the figure of Herder in Faust as to make it appear the prototype of the truest and noblest humanity. He did not select, however, what was small in Herder, his foibles and failings; he selected the great, the superhuman in him. This figure represented the portrait of a saint, of a priest, which Goethe had formed of him in the intimate connection of their lives at Strassburg and in the years following. Faust was not the Herder whom we know from the usual biographies of the nineteenth century, but he represents the likeness of Herder which the young Goethe himself had depicted from direct association and in the attitude of deepest reverence." Dr. Jacoby admits that critics will say that Goethe used many sources for Faust and not Herder alone; that Faust is Faust, and Herder is Herder; that the author should have said "features of Herder are richly traced in Faust" which has often been recognized before. Yea, one might even grant that the young Herder has something of Faust in him, but that Herder should be Faust himself is considered a bold statement in face of the many sources from which Goethe drew his material." "And yet," adds Dr. Jacoby, "this book contends that Herder is Goethe's Faust, the Faust of the first part up to his appearance in Auerbach's Cellar," and the assertion is based upon the statement that not only are there many coincidences in words and thoughts, but Faust's very external and internal experiences were identically those of Herder. K

THE BURDEN OF POVERTY: WHAT TO DO. By *Charles F. Dole*. (The Art of Life Series). New York: Huebsch, 1912. Pp. 124. Price 50c net

In this small volume the author undertakes first to call attention to the nature and immensity of the problem of poverty; next, to consider what specially new form it takes in modern times; then, to analyze the causes which bring about the burden of poverty, and to raise the question whether, on the whole, anything more than the amelioration of this ancient evil is to be expected. He then discusses whether there is any considerable permanent margin of profit which now goes unjustly to the few; how important this margin is, and how far, if transferred where it belongs, it can be made available as a means of relief of chronic poverty. Lastly, he makes suggestions as to the principles upon which mankind, and especially its leaders, must act in grappling with the problem of the poor, aiming in general to take a common sense view of the subject.

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VOLUME XXVI

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“What is here intended is to call attention to the little-known, though long since reported fact, that it pleased the Divine Power to reveal some of the fundamental articles of our Catholic creed first to Zoroastrians, though these ideas later arose spontaneously and independently among the Jews; secondly, I wish to emphasize the peculiar circumstances of this separate origin among the Jewish tribes of the Exile; and, thirdly, I wish to show that the Persian system must have exercised a very powerful, though supervening and secondary influence upon the growth of these doctrines among the Exilic and post-Exilic pharisaic Jews, as well as upon the Christians of the New Testament, and so eventually upon ourselves.”—*Preface.*

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